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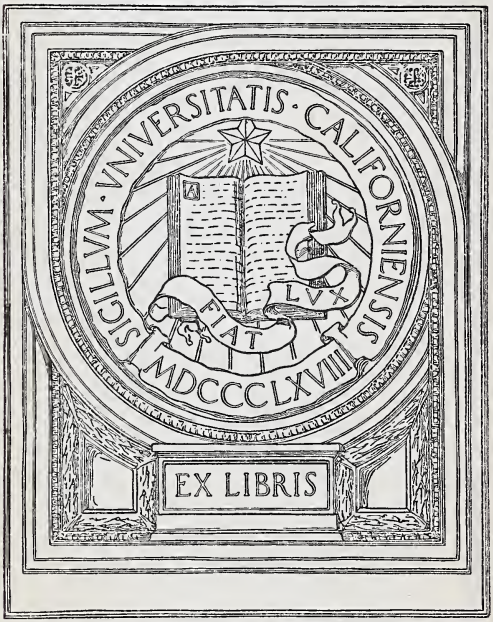

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## STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE

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# MAP OF BRITISH GUIANA

based on the map prepared for the

ARBITRATION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND VENEZUELA

by Colonel S. C. N. GRANT, C.M.G., R.E.,

Director-General of the Ordnance Survey

The present boundary of British Guiana is shown thus

The old Dutch claim on the West is shown thus

See Note in body of Map for this line

Scale 2077520 or 1 inch to 32 miles

Longitude 58° West of Greenwich

# STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE

## THE RISE

OF

## BRITISH GUIANA

COMPILED FROM HIS DESPATCHES

BY

C. A. HARRIS, C.B., C.M.G.,
CHIEF CLERK, COLONIAL OFFICE,

AND

J. A. J. DE VILLIERS,
OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

BARON ALVERSTONE, G.C.M.G.,

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND,

WHO, AS

HER LATE MAJESTY'S ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

WAS

SENIOR COUNSEL FOR GREAT BRITAIN
IN THE ARBITRATION WITH VENEZUELA,

THIS WORK IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

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# INTRODUCTION

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# CHAPTER I.

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

BRITISH GUIANA—the sole possession still held by Great Britain upon the Spanish Main—is divided into the three great counties of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, all colonies founded by the Dutch.

The earliest authentic accounts of the country were written, from personal knowledge, by Raleigh[1], Keymis[2] and Masham[3] in 1596, by Cabeliau[4] in 1599, by Leigh[5] in 1604 and by Harcourt[6] in 1613. The first Dutch historian who dealt with Guiana

---

[1] Raleigh (Sir Walter) *The Discoverie of...Guiana. 1596.*

[2] Keymis (Lawrence) *A Relation of the Second Voyage to Guyana. 1596.*

[3] Masham (Thomas) *The Third Voyage...to Guiana. 1596.* See Hakluyt (R.) *The Principal Navigations*, vol. iii.

[4] Cabeliau (A.) *Verclaringe van de...voiage van America. 1597, 1598.* Reproduced in *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indie* by J. K. J. de Jonge (*1862*, Deel 1) and in the British Guiana-Venezuela Boundary Arbitration, British Case, Appendix, vol. i. (*Vide infra*, p. 5 Note 2.) Cabeliau was "Commies-Generaal" or supercargo of the two vessels that performed this journey, and submitted this account to the States-General upon his return. Cf. also p. 675.

[5] Leigh (Charles) *His voyage to Guiana. 1604.* See Purchas (S.) *His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv.

[6] Harcourt (Robert) *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana. 1613.*

was de Laet[1], drawing for his facts upon the above-mentioned pioneers and largely upon Spanish sources[2]. He was followed nearly a century and a half later by Hartsinck[3], whose history may be regarded as thoroughly reliable where he deals with events recorded in official documents[4]. Then Dalton[5] in 1854, Netscher[6] in 1888, and finally Rodway in 1891[7] dealt with the portion which is now British.

Even in Netscher's work, reliable and comprehensive as it is, gaps occur which are admitted and deplored by the historian himself[8]. But those gaps have now been to a large extent filled up: for the origin and development of these colonies have

---

[1] de Laet (Johannes) *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien.* Leyden, *1625.*

—— *Novus Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis Libri* XVIII. Leyden, *1633.*

We ought perhaps to add David Pietersz. de Vries as a fairly early eye-witness to the state of Guiana. Though his voyage to that country was made in *1634* his work, *Korte Historiael ende Journaels aenteyckeninge van verscheijden Voyagiens*, was not published until *1655.* Cf. p. 148.

[2] Principally Herrera (A. de) *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*; de Laet gives a full list of his authorities in his *Voorreden* or *Introductio.*

[3] Hartsinck (Jan Jacob) *Beschryving van Guiana.* 2 tom. *1770.*

[4] To these he had easy access by reason of the various posts he held; he borrowed, however, too indiscriminately from authors who were in themselves untrustworthy, though he was frequently able to amend their errors from his own knowledge. (See also pp. 460 and 474.)

[5] Dalton (H. G.) *History of British Guiana. 1854.*

[6] Netscher (P. M.) *Geschiedenis van de Koloniën Essequebo, Demerary en Berbice. 1888.*

[7] Rodway (James) *History of British Guiana.* 3 vols. *1891–1894.*

[8] "It is regrettable that concerning a portion of this period (*1752–1772*) of Storm van 's Gravesande's administration there is a gap in the documents extant in the Rijksarchief. His letters to the Directors run only as far as *1759*; there are none of a later date." Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 128. Other gaps are mentioned by him on p. 69 of his work.

recently been the object of deep research, close examination and long discussion, all rendered necessary by the perennial boundary controversies of the settlements on the Guiana coast. After extending over quite a century and a half[1] the diplomatic struggle was ended only within the last decade by arbitration between Great Britain on the one side and Venezuela and Brazil on the other. In the collection and preparation of evidence to be submitted to the respective Tribunals—evidence which was subjected to fair but most searching criticism on both sides—hundreds of thousands of documents were read that had not seen the light of day since they were written[2].

Among the records that came into the possession of Great Britain when Essequibo and Demerara were finally transferred to her in 1814 were the reports sent home by the higher officials of the Dutch West India Company[3], and of chiefest interest in those reports is the series penned by one Laurens Storm van 's Gravesande, a man so utterly forgotten even

---

[1] Doubts concerning the boundary are for the first time officially expressed in *1746* (see p. 220).

[2] Reprints and translations of the original documents (extant in The Hague, Lisbon, London, Madrid, Middelburg, Paris and Veere) are given in the voluminous papers relating to the above-mentioned Arbitrations—papers not actually published, but placed at the disposal of readers in the British Museum and in a few other important libraries.

[3] These are bound up in forty-seven folio volumes (now in the Public Record Office, London) of about 2000 pages each and comprise, besides the reports written by the Commanders (later styled Directors-General) themselves, those sent by the Secretary and by the Court of Policy, in addition to a mass of accounts, requisitions and ships' papers. The whole of them were addressed to the Zeeland Chamber of the Company, in Middelburg. Cf. also p. 400.

in his own country in the 19th century that Netscher speaks of him as one of those meritorious Netherlanders "whose names are but little or not at all known and who nevertheless deserve to be dragged from oblivion[1]."

The whole of Storm's despatches, covering a period of thirty-four years—from 1738 to 1772—would, set up in the type chosen for the extracts given in this work, fill twenty-one volumes of 300 pages each[2].

With conscientious care and in laborious detail Storm wrote from day to day on the ordinary occurrences of the Colony's life. The ships that come and go from Zeeland, the cargoes that they bring, the supplies that he needs, the produce sent home, the gains by trade, the losses in certain ventures, the state of the Company's plantations, the doings of the Company's servants, of the dominie and the doctor, questions of police, matters of civil jurisdiction, the squabbles of individuals—detail upon detail that go to make up the life of a settlement—all these are found in the despatches

---

[1] *...mannen, wier namen weinig of niet bekend zijn en die toch verdienen aan de vergetelheid ontrukt te worden. Op. cit.* p. 293.

Both Netscher and Rodway, it is true, excite our interest by relating a good many facts dealing with Storm's administration, but those facts form no connected whole, and tell us little or nothing of the man himself.

See (p. 276) in what terms van Rappard, somewhat of an authority on celebrities, mentions him.

[2] The originals—all, with very few exceptions, in his own fine, regular hand—are spread throughout eleven of the volumes mentioned above. Since about one-tenth of each volume is Storm's own work and as he wrote 1000 words to the folio page* his quota alone probably amounts to over two millions of words. See p. 400 for references.

* See the facsimile page opposite p. 559.

of the Director-General and all teem with intensely human interest.

In publishing a comparatively small selection from those letters there is no intention to write or re-write the history of the Colony. The excellent and exhaustive work by Netscher cannot easily be surpassed[1]. But Storm's full despatches were not available to Netscher and Storm's life covers a very important if comparatively brief period in the Colony's history, for even though it cannot be claimed that there was, *de jure*, any extension of the boundaries of the vast country entrusted to his jurisdiction, yet under him Essequibo reached the apex of its prosperity whilst subject to Dutch rule, under him Demerara was actually commenced. By his untiring energy the desert places were peopled[2], by his tactical ingenuity the savage tribes were subjected[3], by his patriotic zeal his envious and bellicose neighbours were kept off[4]. If not *de jure*, there was certainly extension *de facto*.

It is, then, primarily the scope of this work to illustrate that period of thirty-four years which embraces the rise and real geographical expansion of what is now British Guiana and incidentally to

---

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that the author was not encouraged to publish this extremely full, accurate and impartial history of our only South American colony in French, as he did *Les Hollandais au Brésil*; in its present form (lacking only, but sadly lacking an index) it must remain a closed book to most Englishmen unless some enterprising publisher can be induced to re-issue it in a translation.

[2] Demerara, commenced in *1746* (see p. 217 and Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 116) comprised 200 plantations twenty-five years later (see p. 646).

[3] See numerous references in Index under INDIANS (pp. 683, 684) in general and pp. 175–189 for the principal tribes.

[4] See pp. 89–102, 359–366, 605–608, *et passim*.

fill up certain gaps in the earlier and later history of the Colony; if in so doing the life of a pioneer of empire be sketched even but crudely, and one hero more be added to the Netherlands Walhalla the compilers will feel amply rewarded for their labour, mindful of the axiom cited by Storm himself:—

> Die lust en liefde heeft tot eenig ding,
> Vind alle moeyte en arbeyd seer gering[1].

---

[1] "Who with great love some aim pursue,
Think light of all the work they do." See p. 294.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE SETTLEMENT OF ESSEQUIBO. 1600–1738.

The name Essequibo, which appears in several different forms[1] in the earliest writings, is first connected with Dutch enterprise in Cabeliau's *Account of the... Voyage to America* performed in 1597 and 1598[2]. The Dutch "Commies-Generaal" mentions "Dessekebe" as one of the rivers lying between the Corentin and Orinoco which were passed without

---

[1] Raleigh writes *Dissequebe*, Keymis *Dessekebe* and *Dessekeebè*, Masham *Desekebe*, Cabeliau *Dessekebe* and Harcourt *Dessequebe*. The capital D soon became detached from the name, for in *1624* (in the *Voyage faict par les Pères de Familles*, see p. 11) it is already called *Ezikebe*, *Ezekebe* and *Eziquebe* and in *1626* (Proceedings of the West India Co., see p. 148) *Isekepe*. This may have been because the prefix was recognised as the Dutch definite article in the same way that *Demerara* is found written *d'immerarij* in some early MSS., and would point to very early Dutch occupation or frequentation of the rivers. The question of the change in the pronunciation of the penultimate syllable is also curious. It must originally have been an a-sound: the occurrence of the English form Icecape as a transliteration of Ysekepe is proof almost positive. Yet by the beginning of the 18th century the usual spelling had become Essequibo—Storm's despatches are usually dated "Rio Essequibo." The form Essequebo which was common in the early English period was doubtless simply phonetic, to represent the English pronunciation of the proper form, though coincidentally it replaced the original vowel. The use of the word Rio is a curious tribute to the world-wide extension of Spanish influence lasting into the 17th and 18th centuries.

Mr (now Sir) E. F. im Thurn—one of the best authorities we have on Indian names—writing in *Timehri* (the Journal of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British Guiana) in *1883*, says: "The origin of the name of the Essequibo is not certain. It is usually said to have been named after Juan d' Ezquibel, a companion of Columbus. But it should be observed that the Carib Indian name for the river is Scapi or more correctly Esscapi."

[2] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vol. i. pp. 18–22. Cf. Note 4 p. 3 *supra*.

investigation, "since much of our time had elapsed, and there was not much to be got, so the Indians told us." Cabeliau's voyage produced a petition to the States-General for permission to colonise Guiana[1]. When this intention first took effect it is now perhaps impossible to determine, but it seems certain that private enterprise ran ahead of the official policy which was embodied in the Charter[2] granted to the Dutch West India Company in 1621.

First Dutch Settlement

The precise date of the first settlement of Essequibo has been keenly debated, and is probably one of those problems which will never be solved. The only definite statement extant is that contained in a MS. penned by Major John Scott, Geographer to Charles II, in or about 1669, which attributes the foundation to one "Gromweagle," who in, or soon after, 1616 is stated to have erected a fort "on a smal island, 30 leagues up the river Disseekeeb, which looked into two great bra[n]ches of that famous river[3]." This is clearly a description of the site of Fort Kijkoveral, which for nearly a century was the centre of the Dutch Colony[4].

That careful historian, Netscher, on grounds which are at first sight not unreasonable, rejects the story as fantastic[5]; but recent examination of the question by the aid of such circumstantial evidence as can be collected, points to some possibility of its general accuracy[6]. It certainly receives

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vol. i. pp. 22–27.

[2] See Additional Notes, p. 142.

[3] *Account of Guiana.* Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., No. 3662. Reproduced in *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 169.

[4] See p. 26 and especially p. 474.

[5] *Geschiedenis van...Essequebo*, p. 43.

[6] See Additional Notes, pp. 146–153.

a measure of confirmation from a manuscript of 1624 which indicates that there was at that time a settlement in Essequibo of some years standing. This interesting journal of the *Voyage faict par les Pères de Familles*[1] contains a precise account of the entrance to the river "Eziquebe" and a sketch map of the anchorage close to the site of Fort Kijkoveral which leaves no doubt as to accurate knowledge of that position; it also contains observations which imply a previous acquaintance with the district and an already existing trade[2].

The evidence of this journal is followed at a brief interval by some fragmentary, but very definite, records which go to show that a regular Dutch administration of some kind was already established in the Essequibo at this period[3], and that it had been long enough in existence to become an ordinary and familiar subject of reference[4]. Soon after 1630, at any rate, the Dutch settlement of Essequibo had become an objective fact in the history of the New

---

[1] Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., 179B. Reproduced in *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 59–62.

[2] The most interesting passage of the journal which concerns us is as follows—"It is a river which a vessel has never entered without being grounded, for the sands there are so *durits* [sic] that you are touched before the lead warns you of it....The Spaniards of San Thomé formerly traded there, but now they dare not go there. There is no place along the whole coast of Guiana where a larger quantity of oriane dye is to be found, than there, nor better. There is also fine letter wood....I have seen a Frenchman who lived there three years, who showed me a piece of mountain crystal of the size of two fists.... He told me that he had taken it above the second fall of the river, where there was a crystal mine...." (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 61, 62.)

[3] See Additional Notes, p. 148.

[4] In *1628* (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 64); in *1632* (*ib.* p. 72); in *1637* (*ib.* p. 75); in *1642* (*ib.* p. 129).

World. Though if only dimly, by occasional references to its business and its officers, we follow its internal development, there is full evidence of the first order that it was the base of considerable operations by the Dutch in 1637, when they sacked and burnt the Spanish settlement of San Thomé. Even allowing for some exaggeration in the contemporary Spanish account, the following passage shows that the Colony already then enjoyed considerable strength and importance.

"The enemy is strongly fortified in an islet formed by the River Essequebo; they have a quantity of artillery and a number of people, and the constant assistance of four or six ships from Holland, and they have often had twelve together, for the trade and traffic are very great, and the Indians frequent them very willingly for the sake of the considerable articles of barter they give them[1]."

A further ray of light is cast by the conflicts between the officials of the West India Company and the private traders or "interlopers[2]." As early as 1645 we catch the first breath of this trouble, which was always present in the territory and exercised its Governors at frequent intervals[3]. In itself of little enduring importance, it is chiefly

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[1] See *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 107.

[2] Our familiar word "interloper" was originally the Dutch term for the private trader who aimed at poaching on the preserves of Chartered Companies. No great significance attached to these people in Dutch times, but in the days of the great prosperity of the British East India Company the struggle between the interlopers and the authorised traders became a leading feature in the trade of the East (cf. Article "interlopers" in the Indices to Yule's *Diary of William Hedges*, *Hakluyt Soc.*, *Ser.* I., vols. 74, 75 and 78).

[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 131. "Essequibo has now for some time been navigated with small profit to the Company, for the reason that private colonists are permitted to trade there."

interesting to the historian as showing that the interlopers as a rule were the pioneers of expansion, and from frequent references in Storm's despatches we shall see that he constantly relied for his knowledge of the interior upon these "*swervers*" or "roamers" who pushed so much further than his own men.

The exact points to which the most enterprising of these traders had made their way into the interior by the middle of the 17th century it is not possible to fix. We can but suggest them dimly by such references as "above the second fall of the river where there was a crystal mine[1]," or "factor with the upland Indians of Guiana[2]." It is not unreasonable to explain such references by the light of more precise information of a later date. It is against all probability that the distant extension of the sphere of influence and trade which is found some forty years later was a sudden effort: it was doubtless the outcome of a long and steady progress into the interior; so we may infer from it that even before the date of the Treaty of Münster[3] Dutch traders

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 62.

[2] Scott's *Account of Guiana.* (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 168.) The significance of the phrase "upland Indians of Guiana" is fully treated by the Rev. G. Edmundson in an article in the *English Historical Review* (*Jan. 1904*, p. 4). It is only necessary to observe here that it imports Indian tribes living in the interior and probably also on the high savannah lands lying between the Rupununi and the rivers to the south which now belong to Brazil.

[3] The Treaty of Münster—one of the two Treaties often referred to by historians as the "Treaty" of Westphalia—has only a distant connexion with the actual history of the Dutch in Guiana: but from the point of view of their title as against Spain to possessions in the Indies it is of immense historical importance. It was very fully

had explored and made their own a considerable area along the Essequibo and its great tributaries, the Massaruni and Cuyuni.

The early settlements on the Pomeroon

Within a decade of the date just mentioned we come to one of the most interesting episodes in the history of Essequibo—for the early settlement on the Pomeroon is an integral part of that history.

In 1649 the Dutch suffered that great reverse which Netscher[1] regards as having broken their power in Brazil: in that year the Reciff was invested and numbers of Dutch subjects began to leave the country, some returning to the Netherlands, others proceeding to various places in the West Indies. It would seem that a considerable number of these fugitives settled on the Pomeroon in 1650 or 1651. We have few definite details as to their coming, but it would be natural that some of them should enlist the interest of the Commander of Essequibo and settle somewhere within his jurisdiction.

The migration occurred during a period for which we have scarcely any information, for there is a gap in the material records at The Hague from 1646 to 1657[2]. The only direct statement we have is that of Scott[3]:—

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discussed in the Venezuela Boundary Arbitration and special reference is recommended to Chapter V of the British Counter-Case in that affair. The Treaty which was signed on *30 Jan. 1648*, was wrung from Spain by fear of the Dutch power abroad.

[1] *Les Hollandais au Brésil*, p. 159.

[2] Cf. Netscher, *Geschiedenis van Essequebo*, p. 69.

[3] Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., No. 3662. Scott's statement is very fully discussed by the Rev. G. Edmundson in the *English Hist. Rev.*, *Oct. 1901*, pp. 642–651.

"The twelfth collonie was of Dutch, setled by the Zealanders in the Rivers Borowma, Wacopow and Moroca, haveing been drave of frō Tobago, Anno 1650, and ye yeare following a great Collonie of Dutch and Jewes, drave of frō Brazile by the Portugaize, setled there, and being experienced planters, that soone grew a flourishing Colonie."

It was not long after the date here named that the Zeeland Chamber of the Company, tiring of the heavy charge of their Guiana colony[1], transferred it to the three towns of Middelburg, Flushing and Veere[2]. These towns decided to form a new settlement on the "Wild Coast of Essequibo[3]" under the general jurisdiction of the Essequibo colony[4]. At the end of 1657 the contract made between the towns was approved by the Zeeland Chamber and Cornelis Goliat[5] was sent out to survey and lay out

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[1] See p. 143.

[2] The reader is particularly referred to the Additional Note on pp. 154–159.

[3] The term Wild Coast is one which the Dutch seem to have given to the coast between the Amazon and Orinoco in the early days of their efforts to settle it. It is found as early as *1627* contrasted with "the Amazon," and in a different record of that year is described as "the mainland coast (named the Wild Coast) of the West Indies." In the heading to a document of the following year we find "the Wild Coast of Brazil" but in the document itself we have the full description "the whole Wild Coast from the Amazon to the Orinoco." In *1657* the phrase "Wild Coast of Essequibo" appears in the proceedings of the Province of Zeeland, and later in the year—"the Wild Coast, otherwise Essequibo"—a certain limitation had set in. (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 63, 64, 65, 67, 141, 145.)

[4] This becomes clear from a perusal of the contemporary records reproduced in the *Ven. Arb. Brit. Case and Counter-Case Appendices.* Cf. Netscher, *Geschiedenis van Essequebo*, pp. 73, 74.

[5] In the *Proceedings of the Committee governing for the three Walcheren Towns the Colony of Nova Zeelandia* on *Dec. 24, 1657*,

"There was read a letter from Cornelis Goliat, offering his services for honest employment on the mainland Wild Coast, whereupon, after full deliberation and in consideration of his being well versed in the art of fortification, of war, and of surveying, and also in cyphering and book-keeping,

a new colony[1]. It was proposed to give to this colony the name of Nova Zeelandia and to place on the Pomeroon, some miles above its mouth, the capital town of Nieuw Middelburg with a fortress near it, to be called also Nova Zeelandia: another project of Goliat's was the Huis ter Hooge—apparently an additional fortress[2]. These projects were almost coincident with the final abandonment of Brazil by the Dutch, and numerous petitions are extant, signed by Paulo Jacomo Pinto, Philippe de Fuentes and other fugitives from Brazil, for permission to land in "Isekepe." In 1658 and 1659 five vessels filled with colonists proceeded thither[3], and amongst these were many Jews who very naturally joined their co-religionists on the Pomeroon[4]. Not only was the town of Nieuw Middelburg founded, but within three years of Goliat's appointment it had become the centre of a flourishing settlement, with sugar promising well[5]. Goliat died[6]

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it was resolved that he shall be employed as Commissary in charge of the stores at the aforesaid place; also as Commander of the twenty-five soldiers to be sent; moreover as engineer, to apportion the lands, make the maps, and erect certain strong places or forts for the protection of the Colony; and that he shall be assigned a salary of 60 florins per month, notification whereof was sent to him by letter, and by him so agreed to."

The last six words of the above extract prove that Goliat was at the moment in the Netherlands, but he was no stranger to S. America. There is in the British Museum a *Perfecte Caerte...van Olinda de Pharnambuco, Maurits-Stadt ende t'Reciffo...gecarteert door Cornelis Golijath, Caertmaker van sijn Ex^tie I. Maurits van Nassou...1648.*

[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 144–146. See also pp. 150, 151 of this work.

[2] Evidence concerning this is very conflicting—see Netscher, *Op. cit.* pp. 40–42 and 337, 338. [3] Cf. Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 73.

[4] *Ven. Arb. Brit. Counter-Case App.* p. 33. [5] *Ib.*

[6] *Ib.* pp. 34 and 40. de Fijn, the new commander, writes of him in *March 1663*, as *wijlen den commandeur Goliath saligr.* = "the late commander Goliath, of blessed memory." See also p. 156 of this work.

probably some time before October 1661, when he was succeeded by François de Fijn[1]. The latter has left behind a vivid general description of the settlement, in which he complains of neglect of duty, both on Goliat's part and on that of Groenewegen[2] in Essequibo. From this despatch[3] we learn that de Fijn resided at Nieuw Middelburg and visited Wacquepo and Moruca from time to time, as occasion arose. He also had journeys to make to Orinoco, whilst his inspection of the River Barima in January 1663 is the first recorded visit to that river which can be regarded as an official act of the Dutch. de Fijn's general review of the Colony's prospects is optimistic; but he had to provide against alarms of external attack, he had some real troubles with negro risings, and he speaks particularly of the strain of governing an "unruly, wanton and reckless people," whose character is pictured in the following passages illustrative of his "short way with dissenters."

"Cornelis Caron was very persistent, and at first I desired not to offend him, but when he repeated his instances for the second time I had him placed in irons, and after he had been imprisoned for some days and, confessing his fault, begged for pardon I let him go."

"David Coppijn...crossed himself a number of times and since he himself took up a position at the post with outstretched arms I had the soldiers called to arms and ordered them to bind him so that he might be arquebussed at once. He, seeing that I was in earnest, begged for mercy, and many present did the same. At length I pardoned him."

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 149.

[2] See pp. 151 (extract *ee*) and 152.

[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. Counter-Case App.* pp. 34–42.

How this settlement on the Pomeroon became the "greatest of all" the Dutch "ever had in America" does not readily appear from the documents that are left to us. In so referring to it, as it was in 1665, Lieut.-General Byam, the Governor of Surinam[1], explicitly treats it as separate from Essequibo, but as it had been overwhelmed in the aforesaid year by a force sent out from Barbados by Lord Willoughby perhaps he could not help glorifying the English conquest. As a separate settlement, however, it was practically wiped out, though for more than a century afterwards the names of its town and fortress remained in the maps of Guiana—testifying to the reluctance of geographers in the 17th and 18th centuries to do anything more than pirate the maps of their well-known predecessors without inquiring whether they were accurate or in accord with the changes of time[2].

Capture of Pomeroon by English

But while the English conquest of 1665 crushed all enterprise on the Pomeroon and Moruca for another twenty years it affected very little the main settlement of Essequibo with its capital at Fort Kijkoveral. Either through greater security of position or through inherent soundness the prosperity of that settlement reasserted itself directly the Dutch re-occupied the Colony in 1666. A

[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 167. Surinam was captured from him by the Dutch and occupied by them for the first time in *1667*. See *Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1739*, tom. i. p. 537.

[2] Very little was known of the settlement on the Pomeroon till the discovery of the documents in the Archives at Veere which were published in *Ven. Arb. Brit. Counter-Case App.* pp. 32–42: these invested it at once with reality, and refuted Prof. Burr's (see p. 147) suggestion that it was little more than a paper scheme, despite Scott's statements as to its prosperity.

chance record informs us that in 1669 a single ship brought home from Essequibo some 60,000 lbs. of sugar and 20,000 lbs. of letter-wood[1]—indication of a considerable export trade.

Active progress of Essequibo after 1670

In 1670 a new era commenced under the direct control of the West India Company[2] and the new Commander Hendrik Roll, yet this episode did not directly affect the life of the Colony. Expansion was steadily proceeding quite independent of any arrangements as to proprietorship: in the records of 1673 we meet with definite evidence that the Dutch influence was being consolidated in the Barima district as a means to the development of trade through the natives[3]. In 1679 the Pomeroon, which for fourteen years had practically been abandoned, again began to attract attention, and a trading agent was stationed there for a time[4]. An interesting passage in the records of the following year gives us a picture of the regular and growing trade in the interior—along the "Essequibo, Massaruni and Cuyuni"—a trade chiefly in hammocks and letter-wood[5]. Incidentally we learn how all trade depended on the goodwill of the Indian tribes and their freedom from internal dissensions, which it was accordingly the policy of the Dutch to avert. By 1683 a further advance was made in placing a Company's officer at Barima[6],

[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 171.

[2] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 172. Cf. also p. 144.

[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 173.

[4] *Op. cit.* i. p. 181.

[5] *Op. cit.* i. p. 183. This is the first mention of the three main rivers of the province—the Essequibo (Ysekepe), Massaruni and Cuyuni—all together; and from this time onwards reference to these rivers in this way means trade in the interior, as opposed to the coast trade, which was mainly with the Orinoco.

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 185.

probably not at Barima Point itself but rather in the centre of the Barima district. At this time the fishing grounds of the Company extended to the Amacura. In 1685 we have direct evidence[1] that the Company's servants were regularly trading as far away as the Pariacot Savannah, six weeks' journey from the Fort. Now such an extension as this was not the work of two or three years; even if there were no documentary indications to the contrary, it would be highly improbable that the trade had sprung up in one decade, and, in fact, such references as are found in the records of 1680 and the following years merely fix the points to which Dutch influence had been gradually extending in the course of some sixty years.

Second attempt to colonise the Pomeroon

We are now called upon to notice another special interlude in the history of Essequibo. The Company, either moved by private interest, or hankering after special settlement, took up the question of establishing a new Colony with separate Commander in Pomeroon; and early in 1686 Jacob Pietersz. de Jonghe sailed from Flushing for Essequibo with a commission to proceed to Pomeroon and found the new settlement. He was not too well received by the Commander in Essequibo, who had to withdraw his own postholders from Pomeroon and would not place their services at the disposal of the newcomer. So de Jonghe could only make a moderate start; and indeed admitted in a despatch written a year after his first arrival that many of the colonists who had come out with a view to settling in

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 188 and 201.

Pomeroon changed their mind and remained on the Essequibo[1]—precisely the contrary of what had happened in 1659[2]. Nevertheless he struggled on, and the nucleus of a new settlement with its plantations of sugar and provisions had been formed by the spring of 1688[3]. But the effort was destined to be nipped almost in the bud. One more year of anxieties and efforts, and on the 6th of July 1689 de Jonghe had to report that he had been attacked and overpowered by French and Caribs[4]. A further rumour of attack settled the matter, and the few settlers who had been left departed in a body to Essequibo. When the Directors at home heard the news they decided to ratify the abandonment of the settlement: henceforward only three men and a flag were to be left in Pomeroon "to retain possession[5]." Thus ended the second attempt to make a separate colony of the Pomeroon, the later history of which is entirely merged in that of the Colony of Essequibo.

For twenty years—not a great gap in the events of two centuries ago—the extant records of the West India Company give but meagre information as to the development of Essequibo, but there is enough to show that the governors during that period[6] vigorously carried on the policy of their predecessors, and a remarkably detailed Diary[7] of Fort

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 199–201, 202–205.
[2] *Vide supra*, p. 16. [3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 207–209.
[4] *Op. cit.* i. pp. 210, 211. [5] *Op. cit.* i. p. 211.
[6] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 212–230.
[7] One of the most valuable and interesting finds resulting from searches made amongst the records of British Guiana by Mr J. Carbin under the guidance of Mr N. Darnell Davis, was the Diary of Fort

Kijkoveral, when read with certain contemporaneous passages, furnishes a clear idea of the extension which the Colony had reached at the beginning of the 18th century—a period at which we may be excused for pausing, since 1704 was the year in which was born Storm van 's Gravesande, the man under whose long administration the Colony as we know it was organised.

Dutch sphere of influence around 1700

The beginning of the 18th century marks the furthest extension of the sphere of Dutch influence which had its base in Essequibo. No subsequent efforts of the Dutch, no recent explorations of the British have added to the area which was in a manner controlled by the Commander Samuel Beekman. Storm's part was to realise, to consolidate, and to give definition to the idea of territorial ownership. It was reserved to the British in the 19th century to give greater precision to this dominion and finally to determine the boundaries of the Colony. But the vague limits which may be assigned to the Essequibo settlement in 1704 were only in definition inferior to the boundary of the present day: in some directions they went far beyond it.

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Kijkoveral. It was brought to London and is now deposited in the Record Office; a full translation will be found in the Appendix to the British Counter-Case in the Venezuelan Boundary Arbitration. This Diary was the official daily record of all the doings of the administration from *July 1699* to *June 1701*. It is an epitome of the life of the settlement—the daily cares and movements of the Commander, the civil and religious life of the Company's servants, the coming and going of the Company's yacht and the shipments for the Netherlands, the periodical journeys of the negro traders—these and many other details present a vivid picture of Fort Kijkoveral and its surroundings in those early days.

It must of course be understood that there was no appreciable number of planters or settlers in the interior in 1704 any more than there is even at the present day: but where the Company's traders went they left the influence of their masters upon the Indians—they had also their depôts or posts at distant points, and these were the signs of the Dutch territorial claims.

At this date, then, the Colony of Essequibo was centred round Fort Kijkoveral, which stood on an island where the Essequibo is joined by the Massaruni and Cuyuni; on the main banks of the rivers at the junction were some plantations of the Company's, and some others belonging to private individuals: cultivation was rather slowly spreading down the lower banks of the Essequibo towards the islands which stud its mouth. To the eastward there was practically no settlement, and the Demerara river was unopened. Westward the sphere of the Dutch extended along the coast to the mouth of the Orinoco and in the interior also to the neighbourhood of that river: indeed it may be said to have permeated the whole country between the Essequibo and the Orinoco. There was a regular station or trading place at Moruca, from which the Barima district was kept under supervision, the chief channel of communication in this direction being the remarkable network of inland waterways which connects the Waini and the Orinoco. There was another post on the Cuyuni river, which, for a short time at any rate, was actually in the Pariacot Savannah[1],

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 20.

on ground which now belongs to Venezuela. Coming round to the southward there was, or had recently been, an *annatto* dye store on the Massaruni, but how far up it is not easy to determine. Southward up the main river of Essequibo there was at that time no station; but the Company's traders were quite accustomed to journey up as far as the mouth of the Rupununi, and also to proceed across country to a higher point on this river, along which they made their way to the savannahs which lie between Guiana and the Amazon, and probably even further to the south.

Such were the limits which may be considered to have been confirmed to the Dutch by the special Treaty of Utrecht[1] which in 1714 finally secured them against the claims of the Crown of Spain.

Events from 1700 to 1738

In the twenty-five years or so which separate the first decade of the 18th century from the date of Storm's first connexion with Essequibo there are only a few matters of interest to record. But there is one incident which must not be passed without reference.

In 1714 the West India Company sent detailed instructions to their Commander, Pieter van der Heyden Resen, to undertake an expedition for the discovery of the fabulous Lake Parima[2]. It is pretty clear from the despatch that the idea emanated from the Directors at home and was not based upon any local suggestions, whilst the complete silence of the

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[1] This Treaty of Utrecht was not the great treaty between France and the allies headed by Great Britain, but a supplementary treaty between Spain and the United Netherlands dated *26 June 1714*. It confirmed in terms the chief provisions of the Treaty of Münster.

[2] See pp. 182–187.

records as to any effort to carry out the instructions is easily accounted for by the extreme secrecy enjoined upon the Commander. Although the territory to which the expedition was destined was already in a large measure under Dutch control, part of it being the regular ground of the Company's own traders who frequented the Upper Essequibo and Rupununi, we may ascribe to the effort of 1714 the closer relations of the Dutch with the Manáos. That tribe made its first appearance in the Essequibo eight years later[1], and had we not Storm's excellent explanation[2] the story of the scare occasioned by their second advent were obscure and hard to reconcile with that of the Dutch influence over the great chief Ajuricaba[3]; but even taken by itself, it indicates the

[1] See p. 187. [2] See pp. 414 and 464.

[3] It is remarkable that the records of the West India Company (both in London and The Hague) contain not a single mention, as far as we are aware, of Ajuricaba, Chief of the Manáos, who for several years in the early part of the 18th century, allied with the Dutch and flying the Dutch flag, checked the advance of the Portuguese along the Rio Negro. His story may be read in the Diary of a journey performed by Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, Chief Magistrate and Intendant-General of the Captaincy of S. Jozé, on the Rio Negro, in *1774* and *1775*, from which we append the following extract :—

"Ajuricaba was of the Manáo tribe, and one of its most powerful Headmen. Nature had endowed him with a brave, intrepid, and warlike spirit. He had made an alliance with the Dutch of Guyana, with whom he traded by the Rio Branco, of which we have already spoken. The principal article of this trade were slaves, to which condition he reduced the Indians of our villages, by making formidable raids upon them. He infested the Rio Negro with the greatest freedom, flying the said Dutch flag upon his canoes, under cover of which he made himself universally feared, and was the scourge of the Indians and the whites." (*Braz. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 114.)

In the end the Portuguese had to send a special series of expeditions against him and eventually defeated him in *1726*, thus setting back the Dutch influence from that date to the upper waters of the Rio Branco. Corroborative details may be found in *Noticias Autenticas del Famoso Rio Marañon, 1738* (Boletin de la Soc. Geog. de Madrid, tom. 26, p. 262), in an article by Monteiro Baena in

distant extension of Dutch interests to the southward, and we may connect with it the decision to place a definite trading post in the upper part of the Essequibo river, which post was established in, or about 1725[1].

Territorial expansion during the first quarter of the 18th century was probably sacrificed to the more immediately important extension of planting enterprise. Sugar had begun to pay, and the Company found that more profit accrued from its cultivation than from the trade with the natives. As a consequence, the attention of the Governors was concentrated on the lower reaches of the Essequibo. It is not too much to say that between 1715 and 1735 the local Government was tending to lose touch[2] with the interior generally, in spite of the erection of the above-mentioned post on the Essequibo. The Company's headquarters, which in 1718 had been shifted from the island of Kijkoveral to the opposite mainland at Carthabo[3], were, some twenty years later[4], moved down stream to a position close to the mouth of the river on Flag Island, where a new fort—"Zeelandia"—was after some years' labour completed[5].

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the *Revista Trimensal* (Jornal do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Braz. tom. v. p. 274), and, most authoritatively of all (since we deem it hardly fair to quote Sampaio unsupported—Chief Magistrate though he was) in Spanish documents of *1724* and *1727*, *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. pp. 21–25.

[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 3. Post Arinda was actually established in *1734* (*Op. cit.* vii. p. 178).

[2] Such a phase in the story of the Colony will not unfrequently be found repeating itself in British times as well as in those of the Dutch.

[3] Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 104.

[4] Storm's first despatch is still dated "Carthabo," *12 Aug. 1738*. See p. 193.

[5] See pp. 195, 198, 207, 208.

With the years which surround this event we come to that period of the history of Essequibo which may be reckoned its most vigorous and interesting time. For in 1738 there arrived in the Colony as Secretary to the West India Company one who was destined to make such a mark in administration as none other of his predecessors had ever made.

## CHAPTER III.

### STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE—THE MAN.

The man whose despatches mirror for the third of a century the history of Essequibo and Demerara was one of no mean type and yet of a stamp common enough in the Netherlands of his time. The commonwealth, exhausted by long, ruinous and bloody wars, was, at the beginning of the 18th century, rapidly sinking in status as a great European power, and the men in whose veins flowed the blood of the "Beggars" would naturally lose patience in petty home politics, itching to conquer new lands and races, as their fathers had done in their country's more glorious past.

Family

Laurens Storm van 's Gravesande came of an old family which had sat, from father to son, in the councils of Delft from the year 1270[1]. Just a century before the birth of the future Director-General, Laurens, his great-grandfather, was born in that town (1605), but became early domiciled in 's Hertogenbosch, where he filled several municipal offices from 1640 to 1685[2]; Dirk, Laurens' third son, born in 1646, followed his father in these and

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[1] See pp. 629 and 644. Also Rietstap (J. B.) *Heraldieke Bibliotheek. 1873.* p. 121.

[2] According to Rietstap (*Op. cit.* p. 128) he was "*raad, regerend schepen van 1640–1685, contrarolleur van 's lands convoyen en licenten binnen voorn. stad, en opziener-generaal over het laden der uitheemsche lakens.*"

in more important posts[1], and out of Dirk's family of ten children three require mention here.

1. Pieter was born in 1683[2], filled offices similar to his father's and died in 1721[3]. He married in 1703 Alpheda Louisa van Luchtenburg (then in her seventeenth year[4]), who died in 1711. The eldest of their children was Laurens, the writer of our despatches.

2. Ewout Hendrik, born in 1684 (d. 1750), succeeded to at least one of the offices held by his father[5]; he married in 1722 Johanna Charlotta, described by Rietstap as "Baroness Boyd of Kilmarnock, born at 's Hertogenbosch in 1694, d. 1781, daughter of James, captain of a Scotch company in the service of the Netherlands[6]." From this union spring all

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[1] *Raad en regerend schepen 1670–1699, president 1702–1716, ontvanger-generaal van de beurzen en andere beneficiën voor de studien bestemd in de stad en Meyerij van den Bosch, contrarolleur van 's lands convoyen en licenten in de voornoemde stad, rentmeester der domeinen en geestelijke goederen van Z. H. den Prins van Oranje-Nassau, over de baronie en landen van Cranendonk, stad Eindhoven en omliggende heerlijkheden.* Rietstap, *Op. cit. 1873*, p. 130.

[2] By a printer's error in Rietstap (*Op. cit.* p. 132) this is made *1633*.

[3] Rietstap (*loc. cit.*). In an extract from family papers kindly communicated in *1908* by Jonkheer Carl Marius Storm van 's Gravesande, of Middelburg, this date is given as *1725*.

[4] In her fifteenth year, according to Rietstap (*loc. cit.*).

[5] He was *advokaat, schepen en raad van voornoemde stad, ontvanger-generaal van de beurzen en andere beneficiën tot de studien gedestineerd.* Rietstap (*Op. cit.* p. 133).

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 133. Rietstap's statement cannot be corroborated in all its details. According to *The Scots Peerage* (edited by Sir J. Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms), William, tenth Lord Boyd, baron of Kilmarnock, was created Earl of Kilmarnock in *1661* and died in *1692*. His eldest son William (2nd Earl) succeeded, but only survived him two months, leaving issue William (3rd Earl), who died in *1717*; William (4th Earl), son of the latter, was born *1705*, and beheaded on Tower Hill in *1746*. We also learn from the above *Peerage* that

the Jonkheeren Storm van 's Gravesande now in the Netherlands[1].

3. Willem Jacob, who dropped the surname of Storm, was born in 1688 (d. 1742), obtained a doctor's degree in 1707 and acted in 1715 as secretary to an embassy sent by the States-General to congratulate George I on his accession to the throne of Great Britain. His brilliancy as a mathematician gained him the friendship of many eminent Englishmen (among these being Bishop Burnet and Sir Isaac Newton), whilst the Royal Society enrolled him as one of its members. He became professor of astronomy and mathematics at Leiden University in his 29th year and subsequently occupied the chairs of civil and military architecture and of philosophy, refusing invitations to join the Russian and Prussian Academies that came to him from Peter I and Frederick II in 1724 and 1740 respectively[2]. Voltaire, who made his personal acquaintance, spoke of him as *le profond's Gravesande*[3]. His works gained him world-wide fame and were published in 1774 in collective form with a biographical introduction by Professor Allamand, Rector of

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James, second son of the first Earl of Kilmarnock, was "a captain in Sir Charles Graham's Regiment of Foot in the Scots Dutch Brigade in *1692*," and he was in all probability the father of our Johanna Charlotta. It is quite possible that as his brother, the second Earl, bore that title only two months, he himself may have used the title of baron, or, according to Continental usage, have had it bestowed upon him by his Dutch friends in a complimentary way.

[1] Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 309.

[2] *Oeuvres philosophiques*, tom. i. p. lix. See Note 1 on p. 31.

[3] Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, tom. vii. pp. 381, 382.

Leiden University[1], whose name will occasionally be found in the following despatches[2].

Such were the forbears and kinsmen of the man who was destined to play a prominent part in the western portion of his country's empire, in domains which, though sparsely peopled, were so rich in possibility that they attracted both the envy of the haughty Spaniard and the industry of the plodding Brit, and the influence—often a very pressing one—of these two nationalities bears largely on the Director-General's life.

Born at 's Hertogenbosch on October 12, 1704[3], 1704–1737
Laurens Storm van 's Gravesande entered the army in his seventeenth year[4], a somewhat hot-tempered youth perhaps, for in his despatches he frequently mentions his habitual outspokenness[5], and late in life speaks[6] of a quarrel he had in 1730 with his stepmother's father, Adriaan van Bronkhorst, Burgomaster of Utrecht, which cost him his promotion. In spite of this it was the opinion of the Prince of

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[1] *Oeuvres philosophiques et mathématiques de Mr G. J. 's Gravesande, rassemblées...par Jean Nic. Seb. Allamand. 1774.* 2 tom.

Probably the most important of his separate works is *Physices elementa mathematica...sive Introductio ad Philosophiam Newtonianam* (2 tom. Leiden, *1720*, *1721*); this ran through six English editions (the first appearing in *1720*, the sixth in *1747*) as *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy*. His *Essai de Perspective*, published in *1711*, also appeared in English in *1724*, and besides his own works we have by 's Gravesande an edition of Newton's *Arithmetica Universalis* published in *1732* and a collection of Huygens' works issued only in *1751*.

[2] See pp. 370, 460, 502, 506 and 534. [3] See p. 516.

[4] "Full seventeen years of military service" completed in *1738* (see p. 644). Rietstap, *Op. cit.* p. 134, says he was "advokaat" and subsequently officer; the boy may, indeed, have studied some law but he never refers to the fact in later life.

[5] See pp. 455, 574, 629, 644, 645 and 664. [6] See p. 645.

Orange[1] that he would have risen to the rank of General had he not elected to serve the West India Company in their colony of Essequibo as secretary and book-keeper, for which offices he took the oath in Middelburg in October, 1737[2]. Henceforward he was to show obedience to a body of Directors who left him (sometimes for years[3]) without the means of carrying out their instructions—to exact obedience from underfed, unwilling slaves, from selfish and disloyal colonists[4].

In 1727 Storm had contracted an alliance with Lumea Constantia van Bercheyck[5], and from their union sprang ten children, of whom seven were born before the family's departure for Essequibo (five being then in life) and only six reached adolescence. Of these four were boys, three[6] of whom served

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[1] *Vide* pp. 37 (Note 1) and 645. [2] *Vide* pp. 621 and 633.

[3] For references to the perennial shortage of supply in provisions, slaves, soldiers, etc. see Additional Notes, pp. 160–163.

[4] See pp. 216, 255, 271, 348, 615, 641 and 665.

[5] Storm records her death, in *March, 1760*, "at the age of full fifty-two years...after a happy and peaceful union of over thirty-three years" (p. 372).

[6] Jonathan Samuel, born *30 Nov. 1728*, was appointed ensign in Essequibo in *1744* and first Commander of Demerara in *1750* (p. 279), marrying a daughter of Hermanus Gelskerke, his father's predecessor in the commandership of Essequibo; he died in *May, 1761* (pp. 386, 387). Some interesting particulars concerning his career are found in a despatch of the Director-General on p. 329.

Warnard Jacob, born *7 Nov. 1729*, died *31 Dec. 1752*. He was appointed an Assistant (i.e. clerk in the Secretary's office) in *1748*, and accompanied his father to Europe in *1750*. Upon his return in *1752* there was a dispute concerning his duties (see p. 280), whereupon he resigned and undertook the administration of some private plantations (*loc. cit.*), but died the same year.

Gerard Johan, born *Sep. 29, 1740*, died *July 20, 1764*. In *August, 1762*, when he had already served the Company for some years, he was entrusted by his father with the provisional command of the militia. (P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice] 471/131. See Note 1, p. 193 and especially the Note on p. 400.)

under their father and predeceased him; both daughters[1] born in the Netherlands[2] were also unofficially pressed into the Company's undermanned service, as the Director-General admits[3].

Prizing and pocketing his Colonel's hearty con- 1738–1751
gratulations upon his advancement[4], the young soldier sets out for his new home. And, though he doffed the soldier's coat, Storm was before all and throughout all a soldier[5]. The very first subject he deals with in his first letter home is neither sugar nor shipping—the two that interested the Directors

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[1] Maria Catharina, born *Aug. 27, 1734*, married (i) her cousin, L. L. van Bercheyck (see p. 335), second Commander of Demerara, in *1756*, and (ii) Jan Cornelis van den Heuvel (see p. 597), third Commander of that river, in *1766*. Her death took place in *1771*, when her father, aged and full of care, writes pathetically of her loss (see p. 49). Two of her letters, addressed to the Directors of the West India Company, are given in their chronological order, as notes, on pp. 452–454.

Alpheda Louisa, born in *November, 1737*, married (i) Johannes Bakker (see p. 49), Commandant of the militia in Essequibo, in *1766*, and (ii) G. E. Meijerhelm, Acting Commander of Essequibo from *1789* to *1791*. She died in *January, 1793*.

[2] One born in the Colony soon after the family's arrival there died young.

[3] "The copies of my letters sent to YY. HH. by Capt. Deneken I had to have written by my eldest daughter...for there was no getting through my work." *Vide* p. 459.

"By the marriage of my daughters I have lost my clerks." *Vide* p. 517.

[4] Thirty-three years later Storm wrote, "I have still the letter by me wherein my old Colonel...did me the honour to write...that he was very pleased indeed to hear of my advancement but that he was at the same time sorry to lose one of his best officers." (See p. 645.)

[5] When making his first application for discharge, in *1746* (see pp. 223, 224), he announces his intention of seeking re-employment in the military service, since he has not sufficient means to live in retirement. And in a despatch dated *Feb. 3, 1765* (P.R.O. 472/87), Storm still wrote: "I have a hearty liking for soldiers, having myself served for sixteen years."

most and were to give him so much trouble later—but the condition of the militia[1]. From the men to the forts the transition was a natural one and Storm, with that patriotic zeal and lack of mercenary motive that characterised all his actions, promptly offers[2] to superintend the completion of a new fort on Flag Island as a relaxation, perhaps, from his more sedentary secretarial duties, which, though probably irksome, were well and conscientiously discharged[3].

The completion of the fort in a comparatively short time, considering the difficulty experienced in procuring labour and material, gave both Storm and the colonists great satisfaction[4]. But the militia continued to be a sore trouble to him to the very end. Without an efficient force it was impossible even to keep the slaves in awe, let alone to repel Spanish encroachments, and year after year we find Storm urging upon the Directors with wearisome reiteration the necessity of sending out reinforcements of honest, well-trained men[5].

In addition to these efforts and what was within the ordinary sphere of his work Storm had organised trading and mining expeditions[6] that were to have

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[1] See pp. 194 and 195. [2] See p. 195.

[3] Already on *Dec. 11, 1738* (seven months after Storm's arrival) Commander Gelskerke writes, "I find that Mr Secretary 's Gravesande is a person to whom everything can be trusted and who takes good care of economy and of Your Honours' interests" (P.R.O. 466/53); and on *Sept. 14, 1739*, he reports that Storm continues to give the utmost satisfaction in the performance of his duties (P.R.O. 466/87). In *1770* Storm himself wrote home, "From the year *1738* to *1742* I never failed to send over all the books each year and although I had never learnt book-keeping the books were found to be in good and proper order" (see p. 633).

[4] See pp. 207, 208. [5] See Additional Notes, p. 163.

[6] These are fully described in the next chapter.

far-reaching consequences for the Colony, and had already in mind (for he had personally taken the soundings of the river[1]) a new settlement in Demerara. So much disinterested industry could not long remain unrewarded.

Commander Gelskerke died July 16, 1742[2], and the Councillors, appreciating the extraordinary zeal and activity displayed by the Secretary, provisionally appointed him Commander whilst awaiting orders from home[3]; the appointment was made a definite one in Zeeland on April 13, 1743.

In the early years of his administration Storm's despatches were by no means so voluminous as later[4], but there is scarcely a letter written by the Commander that does not give the reader a closer acquaintance with the *man.* A soldier, his constant striving was after peace—peace within and upon his borders—and to him peace and concord were synonymous with the fear of God[5]. The "restless spirits" that already early rendered his efforts fruitless[6] were probably the "godless calumniators" of whom he complained so bitterly in 1745[7]. These had evidently gained the ear of the Directors in Zeeland[8], whose unworthy treatment of the Commander[9], added to their almost criminal neglect of

[1] See p. 218.

[2] He had already sent in his resignation, for Storm applies for the post under date of *March 12, 1741* (see p. 200). Gelskerke's daughter married Storm's eldest son (see p. 32).

[3] See p. 204.

[4] During the first quarter of his régime of thirty years (i.e. from *1742* down to his visit home in *1750*) he wrote only an eighth (approximately) of the whole of his correspondence—seven-eighths were written after his return (between *1752* and *1772*).

[5] See p. 212. [6] *Ib.* [7] See pp. 215, 216.

[8] *Ib.* [9] See p. 216.

the Colony in the matter of supplies[1], soon rendered Storm's service bitter to him[2], for already in December, 1746, he applies for his discharge in most apologetic terms[3], the application being repeated eight months later.

An increase, however, in his salary[4] (the only increase he ever obtained from the Company[5]), the appointment of his second son as an assistant[6], and the present of a negro with wife and child (whom Storm had, from motives of humanity, offered to buy[7])—these proofs of favour being accompanied by a declaration of the Directors' approval of his services—reconciled him for a time to his position. But only for a time. Already in March, 1749, Storm became "convinced that it would be very advantageous" to give his masters "a full verbal report[8]" and therefore applied for leave to visit Europe. The leave was granted, but the visit was ill-advised. Storm's absence of two years[9] from a colony seething with godlessness[10] and disloyalty[11] proved too great a strain for the maintenance of what slender authority he possessed. The presentation to their Assembly in Middelburg of an elaborately prepared report[12] may have impressed the Directors with Storm's zeal and earnestness,

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[1] "No victuals, no ammunition, the warehouses already long empty, the smithies at a standstill for want of coal and iron"— p. 214. See also pp. 231 and 246.

[2] See p. 216. [3] See pp. 223, 224. [4] See pp. 232, 233.

[5] See p. 435; but see also p. 495. [6] See p. 232.

[7] See pp. 230 and 232. [8] See p. 245.

[9] From *March, 1750*, to *March, 1752*. P.R.O. 468/253 and p. 278. For some particulars of his movements see note on p. 278.

[10] See pp. 212 and 215. [11] See p. 216.

[12] See pp. 252 to 276.

but it had little practical result. The Commander, well received by the ruler[1] and other magnates[2], was raised to the dignity of Director-General, and his eldest son was given the Commandership of the newly founded settlement of Demerara; the Company, however, seized the opportunity of insisting upon what is referred to as their "great reform[3]," a system of false economy (first mooted in 1744[4]) which Storm then and frequently thereafter[5] roundly denounced as fatal to the Colony. As, indeed, it proved.

Taking what he knew to be a last farewell of all his friends in the Netherlands[6], since he had no interests there ever to call him back, Storm returned to the Colony to find his authority greatly impaired[7]. Spoors, the Secretary—an able though ill-natured man whom the Commander had himself, when taking office, recommended for that post[8], but with whom he appears never to have been on very amicable terms[9]—had, probably as a complimentary prolonga- 1752–1763

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[1] William IV, Prince of Orange, the Hereditary Stadholder, who had but recently been elected Governor-General of the West India Company. In his despatches Storm repeatedly refers, with evident pride, to his reception by the Prince (see pp. 397, 472 and 645), who died *October 22, 1751*, a few months before the Director-General's return to the Colony.

[2] Especially Count William Bentinck, Heer van Rhoon en Pendrecht. (See pp. 276, 277, 585, 572 and 588–592.)

[3] See pp. 410, 412 and 621 for general references to this measure—pp. 282, 328, 329 and 402, 403 for some of the actual details.

[4] See p. 206. [5] See pp. 573, 621, 622 and 656. [6] See p. 339.

[7] "After my return here...my suggestions did not meet with the same favour as before" (p. 429).

"The meagre influence of my representations" (p. 348).

"My authority in these matters is of so little weight and my advice so little valued" (p. 407).

[8] See p. 201. [9] See Additional Notes, p. 163.

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tion of his provisional administration during Storm's absence, been given official direction, *conjunctim* with the Director-General, over the Company's plantations; this annoyed Storm[1], for, if it lessened his responsibility, it must also frequently have led to a conflict of opinion[2]. The planters, moreover, regarded the head of the Colony (more than ever since his visit home) as the mouthpiece of a Company which neglected their interests and sought only its own profit[3]. Storm had henceforth a treble battle to fight—discontent within, invasion ever imminent (or what was nearly as bad, a fear of it) and neglect, born of dissatisfaction, on the part of the home authorities. It was (as Netscher[4] says of a slightly earlier period of Essequibo's history) an unfortunate *cercle vicieux*—neglect at home responsible for the Colony's backwardness and *vice versa*[5].

Already in 1744 Storm had written home,

> "The non-supply of slaves is another matter that greatly retards the rapid growth of the Colony....If no remedy be found it will always remain an immovable obstacle in the way of all progress[6]."

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[1] "The administration of the plantations was no longer in my hands but, although *conjunctim*, in those of another, who consequently carried off all the honour, leaving nothing but toil and trouble for me" (p. 429). See also p. 516.

[2] "Since my return from Europe I have been compelled to put up with much opposition, contumely and contempt and have seen my best intentions either clandestinely or openly thwarted" (p. 436).

[3] "The blame being mostly laid to my charge, I shall, I fear, be compelled to lay my letters to YY. HH. before the Court" (p. 439).

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 116.

[5] See Additional Notes, pp. 160–162.

[6] See pp. 212, 213. The above refers more specifically to the supply of slaves for the colonists' needs, a full *exposé* of this point being given on pp. 299, 300.

But, as he himself says late in life, "mine was the fate of Cassandra[1]." And as with slaves, so with supplies. Appeal follows upon appeal[2], but later references[3] prove that all were equally without results so far as regards the regular upkeep of shipments.

To Storm's official troubles during this period were added domestic afflictions that weighed heavily upon him. On the last day of 1752 he lost his second son[4], and eight years later, within fourteen months of each other, followed the deaths of his wife[5] and eldest son[6].

Consolation for and distraction from his troubles Storm found in naught so much as in the pleasure he derived from the rise of Demerara. And that pleasure came at a very opportune moment. Only a few months after his return in 1752 he writes most optimistically[7] of the progress being made by the young colony commenced in 1746[8], mentioning both the activity of one Gedney Clarke[7], of Barbados, and the coming of other planters from the isles[7]; the next year he exults in the number of allotments made for plantations[9] and relates that the inhabitants, "of whom by far the greater number consisted of English or of those understanding the English language," had begged for permission to hold divine

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[1] See p. 653.

[2] See pp. 301, 302 (*1753*), 347, 348 (*1756*), 361 (*1759*), and 380 (*1760*).

[3] See pp. 161, 162.

[4] See pp. 32, 280 and 292.

[5] See pp. 32 and 372.

[6] See pp. 32, 329 and 387.

[7] *August 4, 1752.* See p. 281.

[8] See his letter to the Prince of Orange in *1766* (p. 549).

[9] *April 14, 1753.* See p. 288.

service in their mother tongue—which "most laudable request" he "immediately granted[1]."

Storm was neither Anglophile nor Anglophobe; he always spoke of the English as he found them, whilst the variance in attitude which he adopted or advocated in dealing with them was dictated not by personal caprice or feeling but by the varying interests of a Company whose welfare he conscientiously guarded above all else.

Very soon after his appointment as Commander he wrote home,

> "The English who have already established themselves here spare neither trouble, industry nor cost, and most of the planters are already beginning to follow their example[2]."

In the Report submitted in person to the Zeeland Chamber in 1750 he draws comparisons between the English colonies and his own with a view to following the lead of the former[3], and we have just seen how sympathetically he dealt with the application for the appointment of an English preacher. Though repeatedly denouncing in round terms the propensity of English skippers to evade payment of

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[1] See pp. 292, 293. Netscher, in most emphatic language (*Op. cit.* p. 115), ascribes the subsequent cession to Britain of the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara to this immigration of English planters, though he fully exonerates the Director-General from all blame in not foreseeing this result. "When," he says, "Storm encouraged the English to settle in Essequibo and Demerara he was undoubtedly acting wisely, for they brought with them energy and gold, both of which the Colony lacked."

[2] *April, 1744.* See p. 211. Again, in *1763* (see p. 428) he writes, "If the sugar planters...would in cultivating the grounds follow the example of...the English in boiling the kiltum the yields would undoubtedly be considerably greater."

[3] See pp. 256, 257.

the Dutch Company's dues[1] Storm openly avows[2] that without the supplies brought by them the Colony would often be in a sorry plight; and if in 1768, when slave smuggling was rife[3], he declares that it would benefit the Colony to be rid of all the English[4] he nevertheless admits two years later, when their election as Councillors is being discussed, that it were inexpedient to exclude them from that office[5].

In the very next letter to that in which he announced Clarke's enterprise[6] Storm, introducing him, as it were, to his Directors, speaks of him as "a man of judgment and of large means, having the welfare of this Colony really at heart[7]." And Clarke, by his subsequent conduct, fully justified Storm's opinion of him on both these points: encouraged by the Director-General[8] he not only, in 1753, submitted suggestions for the Colony's good to the Zeeland Chamber, but actually proposed free trade to that very conservative body[9]: this was, of course, rank heresy in Zeeland, yet it came from a man by whose prompt aid the Colony was, a decade later, saved from ruin.

Whether Storm's friendly relations with the

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[1] See (*1750*) p. 275, (*1752*) p. 284, (*1761*) p. 386.

[2] See Additional Notes, pp. 160–162. [3] See pp. 299, 300.

[4] "Mr Clarke in Demerara and W. Croydon in Essequibo are honest, upright men, of much profit and advantage to the Colony, the welfare of which they have at heart; but were we quit of all the other English and had Dutch or Germans instead the loss would not be great, but on the contrary, the Colony's progress and welfare would be much furthered and smuggling put an end to." See p. 582.

[5] See p. 631. [6] See p. 39.

[7] See p. 285. [8] *Ib.*

[9] See pp. 295–299. Cf. also p. 144.

Clarkes[1], father and son, were dictated, in their inception, by policy, or were simply the outcome of reciprocated esteem it is difficult to determine, but the friendship was of far-reaching consequences for the Colony. It warded off in 1764 a calamity similar to that which had just befallen Berbice[2] and at a moment when the means at Storm's disposal were too slender[3] to cope with it. When the alarm came[4] Storm was sufficiently diplomatic not to apply in the first instance for direct aid from the English, simply informing Clarke[5], who had large estates in Demerara[6], of the danger that colony was in; when the danger became more imminent and he had resolved, "after long deliberation and reflexion," to ask the Governor of Barbados in the name of the States-General for the aid of two hundred men, "should the state of affairs after due examination require it[7]," Clarke's activity rendered it unnecessary for Storm to carry out his resolve[8]. Nevertheless, in spite of his subsequent declaration (in reply to the Company's enquiry[9]) that "direct assistance I never asked for, although I was on the point of

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[1] An interesting series of letters, written by and to the two Clarkes and throwing much side-light on the administration of the Colony, are given in their chronological order, as notes, on pp. 285, 295–299, 333, 334, 421–423, 426, 427, 433, 440, 441, 444, 445, 448–452, 479, 526 and 527.

[2] For the story of the Berbice revolt see pp. 415 *et seq.*

[3] "Whence am I to get ammunition, especially powder?" (p. 309); "In the two colonies there is scarcely a pound of powder per head" (p. 312); "Have now but six guns and two blunderbusses left" (p. 341). Cf. also pp. 34 and 163.

[4] In *March, 1763.*

[5] See p. 421.

[6] The Register for *1762* (see p. 399) shows seven plantations held by the Clarke family.

[7] See p. 423.

[8] See pp. 421–423.

[9] See p. 444.

doing so once[1]," Storm handsomely admits, and more than once, that the succour sent by the English "was, after God, the salvation of Demerara[2]."

If fault there was in allowing both planters and slaves to see the weakness of the power that ruled them[3] that fault lay surely not with the man who, already laden with petty administrative cares, used, in an emergency, the means nearest at hand to protect his charge, but with the Company whose almost criminal neglect drove him to such an extremity[4]. We have shown[5] how Storm pleaded in vain from first to last for an efficient garrison, we have seen[6] how constantly repeated and equally

[1] See p. 445. The whole of this extract (dated *Feb. 29, 1764*) is of intense interest and should be read in connexion with what is said above, especially as we subsequently learn (p. 451) that the States-General had applied to the West India Company for all Storm's letters relating to the Berbice revolt.

[2] See p. 444 and cf. p. 433. Rodway (*History of British Guiana*, tom. i. p. 228), says:—"The meanness of the Company gave them the opportunity of disputing their responsibility, on the ground that the expedition [sent by the English] was authorised neither by the Directors nor any person in authority in the two rivers. The Clarkes were willing to take half the cost, which amounted to £8000, but the Directors would only authorise one-third of the claim, and when an extra head-tax of two guilders was imposed to pay this, the colonists protested against it. Disputes of a similar nature often cropped up later, but none of them show more than this the general pettiness of everything connected with the protection and defence of the colony. Of course the Director-General considered the claim as an honest one, but could do nothing in his official capacity, especially when his Council was ready to protest, for fear of extra taxes. It does not appear that the Clarkes ever received any portion of their claim." Cf. p. 483.

[3] The same despatch from which we have already quoted contains these words:—"Great is the state of despondency here...and the worst and most dangerous is that it is being too openly exhibited" (p. 423).

[4] Cf. p. 479.

[5] See pp. 34 and 163.

[6] Cf. pp. 36, 39 and 160–162.

vain was his cry for supplies; it would, however, be thought that news of a slave rising would have roused the sleepy Directors out of their lethargy. Storm advised them of the revolt on March 12, 1763[1], but at the end of September had to write,

> "The discontent is getting so great and general...that I fear for the consequences. The aid sent...is so small in proportion to the immensity of the danger[2]."

And yet, whilst Storm was compelled to lay copies of his letter home before the colonists to convince them that he at least had done his duty[3], the Directors in Zeeland, having sent the above-mentioned inadequate aid, supplemented it by a despatch wherein they "imagine the danger will have passed over before the receipt[4]" of the same. "Far is it from being so," replied Storm, "the danger is as great, if not greater than it ever was[5]."

However, in the end the danger was exorcised, at what, indeed, seemed enormous cost[6], and Storm and the Colony emerged from the crisis, both a little the worse for the stress.

1764-1772 The last and shortest of the three periods into which Storm's colonial career was carved by the incidence of events was not, as befitted the evening of a life spent in duty, one of peace and calm, but, in direct antithesis to what the man deserved and desired, a time of ceaseless troubles for which he was not responsible and over which he had but little control.

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[1] P.R.O. 471/165.
[2] See p. 439. [3] *Ib.* [4] See p. 440. [5] *Ib.*
[6] Cf. the claim sent in by Gedney Clarke alone (but apparently never paid), and Storm's astonishment at its amount (pp. 43 and 483).

The shadow of the calamity which had come so near in 1763 was still upon him in the spring of the following year, when, announcing his son-in-law's death[1], he wrote,

> "My years, my poor health, sorrow, vexations and constant opposition, in addition to the burden[2] which is now about to fall entirely upon me, without the least help, make me weary of my office, of the country, yea, even of life itself[3]."

But his cup was even then not yet full. A month later[4] he writes,

> "Upon my return home [from Demerara] I found, to my great sorrow, that Mr Spoors has almost lost his sight....This grievous occurrence...brings such a whirl of matters upon me that I see no getting through them."

And in August we have the following pathetic announcement:—

> "On July 20 it pleased the Almighty to take my son, Gerard Johan, from this temporal to His Eternal Kingdom, at the age of twenty-four; of my six sons I have therefore none left but the youngest[5], who has gone to Europe in the country's warship 'Zephyr.' Painful occurrences in my old age, and following, too, so closely upon each other; but we have to submit to the will of the Most High—who can ward off His hand or say to Him, 'What doest Thou?'[6]."

That his allusion, in the first of the above three extracts, to his poor health is not too strongly expressed is borne out by earlier references in 1760[7], 1762[8] and 1763[9], yet so untiring was the energy of the man that by the same vessel which carried the despatch announcing his son's death he sent home

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[1] van Bercheyck, the Commander of Demerara (see p. 452).
[2] This referred to the command of Demerara.
[3] See p. 454. [4] *June, 1764.* See p. 457.
[5] Jeremias, born in *1749.* Cf. pp. 246, 523, 550 and 589.
[6] P.R.O. 472/61. [7] See p. 375. [8] See p. 401. [9] See p. 420.

"a short treatise concerning plantership[1]"—translated, it is true, as he says, "during odd moments of leisure[2]"—and a long and important report upon the Company's trading posts[3].

Nevertheless, in spite of his great energy and of his unabated interest in the Colony's welfare, a fresh attack of illness[4] and continued neglect on the part of the Company made Storm so despondent that he wrote in December, 1765, "I heartily wish I were out of the Colony and in Europe[5]." The failure of supplies was undoubtedly his chief trouble[6]; sensitiveness to even petty calumny another[7]; domestic afflictions a third[8]; and last, whilst to Storm it was the least, increase of duties consequent on Spoor's blindness and van Bercheyck's death[9]. It is, therefore, not surprising to find the Director-General once more repeating in 1766 the application for his discharge which he had already made with great insistence, but in vain, in 1763[10].

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[1] See p. 460. [2] See p. 458. [3] See pp. 460–473.

[4] "On the *14th* [*February, 1765*] my temperature rose four times to such a height that the surgeons and I thought there was but little hope of my recovery." See p. 483.

[5] See p. 491. [6] See Additional Notes, pp. 160–162.

[7] See pp. 382, 508, 509, 515 and 530.

[8] In *1752* Storm had lost his second son, Warnard (see p. 292), in *1760* his wife (see p. 372), in *1761* his eldest son, Jonathan Samuel (see p. 387), in *1764* his son Gerard (see p. 45) and his son-in-law, van Bercheyck (see p. 452); the three last-named died in the Company's service.

[9] See pp. 491, 495, 498 and 499.

[10] "It is time and high time, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, to think of the great voyage to Eternity and to employ the little time which the Lord in His mercy will still grant me, in His service." *May, 1763.* (See p. 425.)

"Now approaching my sixtieth year, an age at which it is customary to retire from public affairs, and which, according to ancient law and custom, justifies discharge therefrom...." *Sep., 1763.* (See p. 436.)

But on this occasion it was made in a manner which proved the sincerity of the appeal[1], being addressed not only to the Zeeland Chamber but also direct to the Governor-General of the West India Company, William V, Prince of Orange, Hereditary Stadholder of the United Provinces[2]. Again and again he reminds the Directors, sometimes in pathetic language, of his inability longer to support his burden[3], but the Chamber and Assembly were warring between themselves[4] and gave little thought to relieving or releasing their old servant until a moment more opportune to the slow-going Company.

Meanwhile Storm's duties were still increasing[5], and no thought was there on his part of shirking them, though his faculties were failing him fast[6]. The vacancy in the secretaryship after Spoors' blindness in 1764[7] was never satisfactorily filled up, and most of the work fell upon the Director-General; we can read between the lines of his despatches that van den Heuvel[8] was by no means so efficient a Commander of Demerara as was van Bercheyck[9], and that the latter again did not equal in energy Storm's own son, Jonathan[10], in that post. Therefore Storm's help fell off in the ratio that it

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[1] *December, 1766.* See p. 524.

[2] *Ib.* The "petition" there mentioned, sent in *December, 1766* (and repeated in *December, 1768*—see p. 591), must not be confounded with the letter (see pp. 548–550) Storm had already addressed to the young ruler in August of the same year, and to which he received a right princely reply.

[3] See Additional Notes, p. 166.

[4] *Ib.* p. 144.

[5] See Additional Notes, p. 164.

[6] *Ib.* p. 165.

[7] *Ib.* p. 163.

[8] See pp. 597 and 651.

[9] See p. 335.

[10] See pp.32 and 329.

should have increased. It is, then, the more cruel irony that the men who for a long series of years had systematically starved the Colony in rations, slaves and means of defence[1], who regarded it as politic to keep in office, much against his will, their faithful but decrepit servant, should, but a few months before releasing him from a service of thirty-five years, accuse him of "bad and unjustifiable management," suspect him of a lack of "honesty, attention and economy[2]"!

Themselves importing no slaves, they rail against the illicit but unavoidable importation by the English[3]; sending insufficient rations, they complain that their slaves are kept short of them[4]; supplying not even the most rudimentary requisites for the plantations[5], they express dissatisfaction with the yields. Children playing a game would act more logically than did they[6]. And yet poor Storm took all their utterances very seriously—indeed, in tragic earnest. The tone of his replies grows sharp, sometimes bitter, in spite of the deference he paid his masters to the end.

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[1] See Additional Notes, pp. 160–163.

[2] See p. 655.

[3] See p. 636.

[4] See p. 655.

[5] "There is not a nail left to fasten anything with or to nail up the sugar casks." *Sep. 1771* (p. 654).

"The manager of 'Achterkerk' has been obliged to let these two excellent equinoctial spring tides pass without crushing because he has not a drop of oil and there is none to be got in the whole Colony." *Nov. 1771* (p. 656). Cf. also pp. 160–162.

[6] "In *1769* the planters presented a petition to the States-General for leave to import slaves upon payment to the W. I. Co. of a stipulated sum per head, but in writing to Storm on *Feb. 19, 1770*, the Zeeland Chamber takes him to task for having dared to support an idea 'of such ruinous (?) import to the Company,' whilst in the same despatch he is blamed for having connived at the illicit landing of a cargo of 450 slaves valued at 150,000 guilders." Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 138.

In November, 1771, he writes:—

"I call Omniscient God to witness that I have done all in my power to further the interests of the Company and Colony[1]...."

"If YY. HH. will be good enough to give the plantations a chance to do so, the plantations will yield as well as any in the Colony. Now necessity compels me to purchase horses and mules or allow the cane to rot[2]."

And in the same month, when referring once more to the perennial dearth of all things he says:—

"For myself it does not matter; I buy what I want and pay for it out of my pocket. But the other officials, the slaves, the plantations—what is to become of them? If it please YY. HH. to let the plantations fall rapidly back I wash my hands of the matter and leave it to Providence[3]."

In addition to Storm's official troubles death, too, was once more making havoc amongst the few surviving members of his family. In June, 1771, the Director-General wrote:—

"The loss of my eldest daughter[4] has made me so tired of everything, so indifferent to the world, that I have resolved to endeavour, with the aid of the Lord, to fulfil my duty to the end, as far as possible, to do what I can (*ad impossibile nemo tenetur*) and for the rest to leave everything to Divine Providence, consoling myself with the hope that there being no rest for me here below the Almighty will graciously call me to Eternal peace, and that whenever it shall please His Sacred Will[5]."

And in February, 1772, we have the following lines:—

"It having pleased Almighty God to call from this temporal to His Eternal Kingdom, on the 19th inst., after a very long illness, my dear son-in-law, Johannes Bakker,

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[1] See p. 655. [2] See p. 656. [3] See p. 658.

[4] Maria Catharina, first married to van Bercheyck and afterwards to van den Heuvel, both Commanders of Demerara (cf. p. 33).

[5] P.R.O. 475/123.

Councillor of Justice and Commander[1] of the militia in Your Honours' service, I deemed it my duty to inform YY. HH. of this event so grievous for my daughter[2] and myself. I lose my right hand and the only help I had left, and YY. HH. a faithful, honest and zealous servant[3]."

On July 14, 1772, thirteen days after his release from office had been decided upon in Zeeland[4], Storm wrote home as follows[5] :—

"I am most deeply obliged for Your Honours' kind wishes respecting the state of my health expressed in the beginning of Your Honours' highly esteemed letter. The Lord be thanked and praised that these have in some measure been heard, for I find myself just now by His blessing better than I have been for many years past, contrary to all expectation; with the exception of the persistent gouty pains, which from use have almost become second nature, and the loss of hearing in one ear, I have at present little the matter with me. My memory gets no worse and my sight is as good as it ever was.

"By this I perceive that Merciful God 'appoints the cross to our strength and our strength to the cross[6],' for without His blessing how could I exist in such a chaos of business, without aid or assistance, having to do nearly everything myself? YY. HH. cannot possibly imagine how I have to occupy my thoughts night and day with so many and such varied matters, and then still have the vexation of not being able to do all that I would for the welfare of the Company and Colony and the satisfaction of my Masters; but being

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[1] Should read *Commandant.* Storm often confounds the two titles. The letter from which the above extract is taken is (with the exception of a short one dated *June 12, 1772*, and of little interest) the last holograph by Storm in the collection (cf. pp. 5 and 640).

[2] Alpheda Louisa (see p. 33). [3] P.R.O. 476/18.

[4] See Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 139.

[5] The extract is here reproduced as curiously explicative of what may, without exaggeration, be described as the extraordinary energy shown by a decrepit, old man in an emergency beset with great danger.

[6] A less forcible rendering, perhaps, than the Dutch: *Kruijs naar kragt en kragt naar kruijs.*

unable to do what I would I must content myself with doing what I can[1]."

Early in August[2] he foreshadows trouble, hints at its cause and explains his humane and statesman-like efforts to stem it. But the storm burst, and once more the Colony was "on the brink of total ruin[3]."

As we have said before, Storm was before all and throughout all a soldier[4]. Never do we find so manly a ring in his letters home as when in words, decisive and incisive, he had to report measures taken by him in great emergencies or in the face of mortal danger. A revolt of the slaves—an ever present menace in those days to a colony's existence—or a report of a Spanish squadron off the coast, and Storm, assuming military command quite naturally, would be marshalling his puny forces, rousing the unwarlike burghers to a sense of their duty and meanwhile writing to the Directors, all coolly but energetically, for aid that never came.

And as throughout, so was Storm a soldier to the end.

His despatches of August 29 and September 24, 1772 (the last he indited[5]), are all that such documents at such a time should be—exactly explicative of events and of measures taken[6], commendatory of those who had distinguished themselves in valour[7]

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[1] P.R.O. 476/149.

[2] See p. 661. Though the despatch is dated *Aug. 27, 1772*, it was commenced, as usual, much earlier.

[3] See p. 666. [4] See p. 33.

[5] The letter concerning his son Jeremias, dated *July 19, 1775* (see p. 589) was evidently not compiled though signed by Storm.

[6] See pp. 666 and 667. [7] See pp. 667 and 668.

and advisory respecting future means of defence[1]. His successor, George Hendrik Trotz, arrived at Fort Zeelandia on November 27, 1772[2], and Storm's career was over, *salvis honoribus*, as he had so ardently wished[3]. He immediately retired to his plantation "Soestdijk[4]," in Demerara, where he died August 14, 1775[5], at the age of seventy years and ten months.

Character

Every reader of the voluminous yet comparatively few[6] extracts reproduced in the present work will be able to form his own judgment of Storm's character, and perhaps it will be fairer to Storm that one should do so before perusing the following lines. For we, his first biographers, desiring in our Introduction to his despatches to avoid all appearance of partiality, restrain the expression of that admiration which we believe others, after a careful study of the man, will share.

The two qualities that stand out most conspicuous in Storm's nature are loyalty and incorruptibility, and better qualifications than these no governor could have, based, too, in his case, the one upon a keen sense of honour, the other upon true piety, —unshakeable foundations that were cemented by an unmercenary spirit, untiring industry, abstemious habits and a mode of life both strenuous and simple.

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[1] It is gratifying to find that in *1773* the advice was adopted by the establishment of garrisons of 100 men each both in Essequibo and Demerara. See Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 142.

[2] Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 139.

[3] See pp. 224 and 525.

[4] See p. 367.

[5] Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 390.

[6] Cf. p. 6 Note 2.

The Simple Life

In 1746 Storm writes:—

"I live in middle-class fashion, my fare is ordinary, nay, mean, for even no wine is drunk except when there is a Church or Court meeting; I dress rather below than according to my station[1]."

"At home I live like the meanest burgher; my children and I, far from indulging in splendid dress, are clothed far beneath our station[2]."

In 1762 we find him (after twenty-four years' service in the Colony) occupying a "very small" house "consisting only of two rooms twenty feet square and a vestibule[3]," his former one having become uninhabitable[4]; and a year later he says,

"I am compelled to hold the Court meetings in the preacher's house because there is no room in mine[5]."

Again in 1762 we get the following interesting statement,

"It was not the loss of the provisions which YY. HH. were pleased to take from me in order to increase Mr Spoors' share that grieved me[6]; that, indeed, could not cause me any grief, since, with the exception only of the beer, soap, candles and spices, I make little personal use of them. Of the wine I do not think I have ever drunk more than six bottles altogether, and it has mostly been used for the sick; all that comes here in casks, however good of its kind it may be, arrives spoilt. Spirits I do not drink, cheese I do not touch either, so that it was not the loss of these things that grieved me, but the fear that it was the result of Your Honours' displeasure[7]."

Six years later Storm's opinion on indulgence is more jocularly given[8].

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[1] See p. 222. [2] See p. 481—this in *1765*. [3] See p. 406.
[4] See pp. 405, 406. [5] See p. 431. [6] See p. 397. [7] P.R.O. 471/82.
[8] *Feb. 1768.* "If one goes regularly about one's work, dealing sparely with drink and not permitting that pleasant seductive Madeira wine to become one's master, a good deal more can be done than one would think" (p. 568).

Simple and abstemious then as was that life the strenuousness of which has already been amply proved[1], Storm well knew that toil with procrastination or without method brought little reward, for in the same despatch from which we have just quoted he alludes to both those evils[2], and just a year later he returns to the same subject[3].

Unmercenary spirit

Yet material reward was not the object of his ambition. In 1763, after twenty-five years' work for the Company, he is able to say to the Directors,

> "Riches I have never hunted nor sought after and during such long service I have never troubled YY. HH. for the least increase of salary[4]."

When begging for his discharge in 1763 he says:

> "It is true that never having made it my business to accumulate wealth I shall not be in affluence when I leave the service, but Merciful God, in Whom I place my faith, will, I trust, graciously bring me to my end and care for my children. *Natura paucis contenta*[5]";

and on a similar occasion in 1766[6] he writes,

> "I ask for no pension, salary or provisions[7]; that would be very unreasonable, for the Honble. Co. has already burdens enough[8]."

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[1] See pp. 34 (Note 3), 34, 35, 45, 47 and 164.

[2] "Never to put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day is a lesson I learnt from my worthy grandfather in my eighth year, the careful practice of which now stands me in good stead and gives me much ease." See p. 568.

[3] "If I had no fixed and regular order in my work, no fixed time and hour for each sort, and not constantly a memorandum at hand upon which immediately to note everything that occurs to me I should never get through it....It is all very well to be experienced, zealous and industrious, but where there is no regular order these qualities are of little avail." *Feb. 1769.* See p. 596.

[4] See p. 435. [5] P.R.O. 471/167. [6] See p. 47.

[7] Beyond the ration of meat and flour he had previously applied for (see p. 524). [8] See p. 524.

In 1767 he, of his own accord, reduces by one-third the fees due to him on new title-deeds[1] and in 1769, when he complains of the burden of his work, we have the following pronouncement from his pen:—

> "Although acting *ad interim* as salesmaster brings me in a fair amount and it is generally held that money sweetens labour, this is not so with me. Never having been mercenary, and satisfied with my daily bread (for which alone we pray) that brings me no relief[2]."

Mercenary indeed could not have been the man who, when daily expecting his release from office, wrote in 1771[3] as follows:—

> "This would be an excellent year for the salesmaster[4], his dues amounting to more than 15,000 guilders, but I have good reason to fear that two-thirds of it will remain in default through non-payment and protested bills. I cannot bring myself to complete the ruin of those who, through no fault of their own, have got into deep water, and render them unable ever to get out again; I should not care to go down to the grave with their curse upon me. My children have, thank God, a crust of bread (which the Lord deign to bless) and for the rest they must do their best and trust in Him Who rules all in His Omnipotence.
>
> *Non possidentem multa vocaveris*
> *Recte beatum; rectius occupat*
> *Nomen beati qui deorum*
> *Muneribus sapienter uti*
> *Duramque callet pauperiem pati*[5].
>
> "Let them say with me,
>
> 'No wealth wish I, from want kept free,
> Enough is quite enough for me[6].'"

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[1] See p. 529.
[2] See p. 622.
[3] P.R.O. 475/138.
[4] See the previous extract.
[5] Horace, *Carmina*, IV. ix. 49.
[6] The above may perhaps be allowed to pass as a free rendering of the original, which runs:—

Means

It is not surprising to find that the possessions of a man cherishing such sentiments—and Storm speaks openly enough to his masters concerning these matters—were sufficiently meagre considering the length of his career and the accumulation of his offices.

Though there is evidence that Storm was not without means even upon his arrival in the Colony[1] he was certainly mainly dependent upon his salary of 500 guilders per annum (and some emoluments)[2], concerning the modicity of which he complains[3] when making his first application for discharge in 1746. An increase of 300 guilders was granted him in 1748[4]—"but this was done unasked and by Your Honours' especial favour and generosity[5]," says Storm in 1763, when in spite of the fact that his

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*'K wensch rijkdom nog gebrek,*
*Ik wensche spaade en vroeg*
*Te weynig nog te veel,*
*Genoeg is mij genoeg*

Cf. *Proverbs* xxx. 8:—"Give me neither poverty nor riches"—in Dutch, "Geef mij armoede noch rijkdom."

[1] On *Feb. 16, 1739*, Storm purchases three slaves (P.R.O. 466/71) and amongst the bills of exchange sent to Zeeland is one for £84. 3*s.* 4*d.* drawn by him in payment (P.R.O. 466/72). In *1749* he writes:—"I am obliged to have recourse to property which I left in the province of Utrecht and of which I preferred not to touch a cent since my arrival here" (p. 248).

[2] See p. 232.

[3] "Besides my small salary and rations I have no income of any kind here beyond those emoluments [on the sugar output of the Company's plantations], out of which I have to keep up a large family and the honour of the Company." *Dec. 1746* (p. 222).

"I have no other income here but the salary and emoluments which YY. HH. are pleased to accord me." *Sep. 1749* (p. 248).

[4] See p. 232. It appears to have been the only increase in salary ever given him, though his table-money was also augmented by 300 guilders in *1765* (see p. 495).

[5] See p. 435.

"expenses are incomparably greater[1]," as he explicitly proves, than were those of his predecessor, he reports purchasing at his own expense "for eleven hundred guilders a house which just happened to come up for sale and which will still cost me just as much for repairs[2]."

Such purchase must of course have come out of his private means or out of the profits derived from the plantation[3] that the Company allowed each of its officials to keep[4], and as time went on Storm found himself getting into fresh financial difficulties, which, as in duty bound, he reported to the Directors at home, but in vain.

In 1765 he writes :—

> "It is perfectly impossible for me to exist at present upon my income and I must get further into arrears every year; I am now already indebted to my correspondent for over three thousand guilders....To burden year after year the plantation "Soestdijk," the only property that we have as it were (half belonging to the widow and her children and half to my other children), would be sinful before God and man. Is it then not better to sell my house and land here, pay my debt to Mr de Bruyn[5], and live quietly upon the plantation and so make shift with the little that I have for the short period of life that is still left me[6]?"

Again in 1769 he assures his masters

> "that there is no office in the two rivers, from that of Director-General down to the meanest (except the sales-master's), the holder of which can live respectably, according

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[1] See p. 435.

[2] See p. 432.

[3] "My plantation (which is, thank God, in a fair condition) I would like to keep intact." *Sep. 1749* (p. 248).

[4] See Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 98.

[5] See p. 481.

[6] See pp. 481, 482.

> to his rank and station, and have anything left, unless he engage in something besides, be it trade, superintendence, planting on his own account, or aught else. For instance, can a Commander of Demerara (to begin at the top) exist on thirty guilders a month and rations? Certainly not, YY. HH., far from it, and had he not something of his own, in addition to being always on the look-out to earn an honest penny, his bread would be thinly buttered[1]."

And in March, 1771, the year before obtaining his discharge, he avers,

> "I have the honour to have served YY. HH. for more than 34 years. Where is the wealth that I have amassed? I possess naught else than half the plantation "Soestdijk" which through the untiring industry and zeal of my two sons-in-law, Bercheyck and van den Heuvel, has been brought, by the Lord's blessing, to such a condition as to afford me a crust in my old age[2]."

That there were other means of amply rectifying the Company's parsimony is proved by the few simple but significant words that close our extract of November, 1770[3]; the entry upon such devious paths was, however, quite incompatible with a nature that held piety and pure dealing in equal honour, and honour itself "dearer than all else[4]."

Honour

Almost every page of Storm's despatches show how great a part religion played in his life, and of

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[1] P.R.O. 474/248. The justice of Storm's complaints was amply recognised when in *1773* the salary of his successor was raised to 1800 guilders, with an additional 1200 guilders for table-money, whilst the appointment of a Fiscal, a Secretary and a Salesmaster (posts all heaped upon Storm) relieved him of a multiplicity of duties. See Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 142.

[2] P.R.O. 475/110.

[3] See p. 639.

[4] See p. 216.

his life honour was the breath. But, as all men have the vices of their virtues, so did Storm's regard for honour lead to his one weakness—hyper-sensitiveness to opinion and hence even to calumny[1]. "*Mens sibi conscia recti* has no need to fear calumny," he himself wrote in 1767[2], and, indeed, a greater disregard for the petty spite and interested cabals of the smaller men around him would have left his mind and pen more leisure to deal with the larger problems and the future he was helping to shape—his body the greater repose which a tropical clime demanded. If, to cite but one instance, he had, on his return to the Colony in 1751, closed his ears to all he heard and firmly re-assumed the same measure of authority he had enjoyed two years before[3], much might have been otherwise in that administration with which the following chapter will deal, though the tremendous odds he had to fight in the lethargy of the Company and the disloyalty of the colonists[4] must never be forgotten.

Storm passed quietly into oblivion[5] on his retirement whilst strangers enjoyed the fruits, if not the

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[1] See pp. 215, 216, 382, 508, 509, 515, 530, 543, 571 and 646.

[2] See p. 543.

[3] "Seeing further, after my return here, that my suggestions did not meet with the same favour as before, that they were regarded quite other than they had been during my former twelve years of service and that the administration of the plantations was no longer in my hands...I preferred to give way and no longer interfere in those matters except when my opinion was asked" (p. 429). Cf. also pp. 348, 407, 436 and 439.

[4] See pp. 554, 560, 573, 589, 632, 646 and 665.

[5] See pp. 5 and 6.

fame, of his life-long work; hence the words he had himself so often[1] applied to his efforts on behalf of the Colony form his most fitting epitaph:

*Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores*[2].

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[1] See p. 355.

[2] Storm quoted very freely in Latin and apparently always from memory (cf. pp. 216 and 578). He wrote fluently in French (see pp. 277, 318, 363, 448–452, 548–551 and 589–592) and spoke English without difficulty (see pp. 390 and 572); Spanish he could copy with accuracy (see the facsimile opposite p. 319) but was evidently chary of translating it for official purposes (see p. 367). A list of the quotations occurring in the extracts reproduced in this work will be found at p. 700 in the Index.

## CHAPTER IV.

### STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE—THE GOVERNOR.

The arrival in Essequibo of Storm van 's Gravesande is associated with two very important undertakings, one of which found a place in the historical geography of the world, while the other was justified some 150 years later in the modern history of British Guiana. The first of these was the despatch of one Nicolas Horstman up the Essequibo to find the passage to the Amazon—the second, the employment of miners on an organised prospecting expedition along the Cuyuni river and in the Blue Mountains which lie to the north of it.

The Horstman incident

On the 3rd of November, 1739, Horstman set out on his secret commission towards what is now the Brazilian frontier, accompanied by

> "two of the fittest soldiers, well provided with weapons and everything else which was necessary for his projected journey above the falls of the Essequibo, furnished with proper instructions and passports in the Dutch and Latin languages in case it may be necessary to avail himself thereof[1]."

He also took with him "four able and clever creoles to serve as guides and interpreters with the Indians whom they will pass on this journey."

Commander Gelskerke hoped that in six months or so he should have good results of the enterprise to report to his Directors. But his hopes were doomed to disappointment. The officials at Essequibo never saw Horstman again. From time to

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[1] See *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. pp. 30, 31.

time vague rumours reached them; he had made a successful journey[1]; he had even planted the flag[2] of the Company on Lake Parima[3]; but disillusionment was to come. The four creoles who had gone out with the explorer returned to the Colony in November, 1742—three years after they had first started—and reported that Horstman had turned traitor and gone over to the Portuguese[4]. What really happened, whether Horstman got tired of his long journey or was detained by force, we are not likely now to ascertain. That he lived under the protection of the Portuguese we know from La Condamine, who had at that period just made his way from Quito down the tributaries of the Rio Negro to the country which Horstman had reached. La Condamine not only saw and conversed with Horstman[5], but also received from him the map he had drawn of the country between the Rupununi and the Rio Branco. This map, correct in its main features, was the first intimation to geographers of the true configuration of the country between the Amazon and the Essequibo[6]. In the hands of d'Anville it was made the basis for a generally correct delineation of that part of the

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[1] See p. 202.

[2] On the sketch of the fort on Flag Island which forms an inset on Storm's map of the Colony (*vide* Note on p. 238) there is a representation of a flag in red, white and blue ranged horizontally from top to bottom; this was the *Staate* or *Prinse Vlag* of the Netherlands, also used, with central badge, varying in each case, by the province of Zeeland, by Amsterdam, by the East India Company and by its younger West India rival—the badge used by the latter being the monogram GWC, signifying *Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie.*

[3] See *Brazil Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 44.

[4] See pp. 202, 203.

[5] See p. 167.

[6] See pp. 167–174 for map and Horstman's own account of his journey.

country in the great map of South America published in 1748[1].

But the expedition may fairly be held to have had other results. Abortive as it seemed at the time it had eventually that effect which Storm, undoubtedly its promoter, could have desired. It was the visible sign of an intention to take possession of the inland regions to the southward—the "uplands" of Guiana[2]. It became in years long afterwards a leading proof of Dutch efforts in the interior around the sources of the Rupununi and Takutu.

Mining enterprise

The first suggestion of mining operations on the Cuyuni appears to have been made to the Commander by Secretary Storm in 1738[3]; and six months later some specimens of ores and stones were sent home to the Company[4]. Later in 1739 Storm himself arranged to go up the Cuyuni to the Blue Mountains and prospect for metals[5]. About a year later the Company completed their arrangements for sending out a mining engineer, and in March, 1741, we have his first report[6]. Thomas Hildebrandt's reports[7] are geographically quite interesting; it is true that he did not get very far up the Cuyuni, and it is improbable that he added much to the knowledge

[1] d'Anville's maps have a peculiar interest in connexion with Storm's despatches: for the Director-General was evidently in touch with the eminent geographer. In the first edition of his great map of South America published in *1748*—a map which, far in advance of any of its predecessors, marks a new era in cartography—d'Anville introduced on La Condamine's information (see Additional Notes, p. 168) the accurate detail as to Guiana which the latter had obtained from Storm's emissary. In the second edition (*1761*) he introduced the incorrect information which Storm got by hearsay and handed on to him. This fact speaks to Storm's reputation in Europe.

[2] See Note on p. 13. [3] See p. 196. [4] See p. 197.

[5] *Ib.* [6] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 31. [7] *Ib.* pp. 32–40.

of the river possessed by the Dutch traders: but he carried occupation of a substantial area beyond the mere exigencies of trade. He made a beginning of copper mining, he completed a road which was evidently designed to meet the difficulties of portages over the falls of the river: he also prepared the nucleus of a station which might serve as a basis of operations and a store for material. Nevertheless, as far as we can judge, he was not a very vigorous or resourceful worker[1]; results were not very obvious, and Hildebrandt himself was discharged at the end of two years or so[2], though efforts to mine are recorded as late as 1746[3].

In April, 1743, after acting for some nine months in that capacity, Storm became actually the Commander of Essequibo; and in one of his first despatches to the Directors he recurs to the suggestion of appointing a postholder in Barima which had already been made by Beekman[4]. The despatch also contains references to the germs of Storm's Indian policy and to the beginning of a trouble[5] which hereafter crops up in many despatches, and was only ended by a special convention—the

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[1] In alluding some ten years later to these mining operations Storm said that their non-success "must not be attributed to the bad quality or scarcity of ore but to the bad and brutal behaviour of the manager, T. Hildebrand, and to the ill-treatment he meted out" (see p. 268). And as late as *1766* he still remembered "creoles who had run away on account of" that ill-treatment (see p. 501).

[2] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 40.

[3] See pp. 226, 227.

[4] See p. 207.

[5] With the progress of the sugar plantations in Demerara, special importance began to attach to the question of runaway slaves. As long as there had been a good trade with the interior under the former régime, the loss of slaves, though annoying, was hardly serious. Now the danger of the loss of a single slave gave more anxiety than

desertion of the slaves to the Spanish settlements on the Orinoco.

From 1745 onwards Storm's despatches teem with interest; but it is not our purpose to do more than summarise broadly Storm's main policy in those matters which affected the development of the Colony.

It may be said that the territorial consolidation of the Essequibo colony stands out prominently as the main feature of Storm's governorship; and in three separate ways its story presents itself in his despatches:—

(i) in the definite steps taken to consolidate the possessions of the Dutch by a deliberate and thoughtful policy of development and exploration;

(ii) in the policy pursued towards the various Indian tribes which Storm found in possession of the interior and coast;

(iii) —and perhaps this is the most interesting of all—in the discussion as to the frontiers, and Storm's stout defence of the rights of the Netherlands against the Spaniards.

Storm's governorship must always have a living interest for British readers as the period which made the present colony of British Guiana a possibility. It is extremely likely that without such a man as Storm to supply a policy the Directors of the West India Company would have let things drift altogether. It was a temptation for the Governor to sacrifice

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any fear of aggression on the boundaries of the Colony. Storm's references to the need of a cartel or agreement are very constant. His wish was finally satisfied many years later by the conclusion of the cartel of Aranjuez—*23rd June, 1791.*

everything to the immediate profits of the Directors or to the exigencies of local jobbery. To a large extent such a policy did prevail later and imperilled the results of Storm's long administration. But Storm, a man of culture, with ideas and interests beyond the immediate calls of the moment, always kept before him a fine conception of what the Colony might be and what it should be, as far as in him lay: subsequent carelessness could not undermine the good foundation which he put down. When at last, 150 years after his time, the question of the Colony's true area came to be fought out before an international tribunal, it was old Storm's work and utterances which gave such welcome support to the successors of the Dutch. The history of British Guiana can never, in fact, be divorced from that work.

## (i) *Development and Exploration.*

The rise of Demerara

The most interesting feature in the development of the Colony under Storm was the rise of the province of Demerara. At the beginning of his administration Demerara was a mere trading area covered by the Company's traders, guarded by two trading posts, and only casually supervised from the Fort. At his death it was the "predominant partner" in the Colony.

It has not been hitherto demonstrated how much Demerara owed to Storm and his encouragement of the English settlers. With a less wise and independent man it might easily have been crushed in its infancy, or at least have been kept for many years longer under the jealous control of Essequibo.

In this, as in many other matters, Storm laid the foundation of the present colony of British Guiana.

In the first Muster-roll extant[1], dated 1691, two outlying stations are mentioned, one in Demerara, one in Pomeroon. In that of 1700[2] a new post-holder appears at Mahaicony (Maijcoene), beyond the Demerara river, and two posts in the Demerara district occur regularly in the following years down to 1745. In 1746 the Demerara was opened to general trade[3]; its post[4] was abolished, as no longer necessary, since settlement along the river proceeded with remarkable rapidity and within some five or six years was outstripping that of Essequibo.

In a despatch of December 2, 1748[5], Storm speaks of a crop of sugar in Demerara beyond all expectations, and expresses his hope that there would be a flourishing colony later on: he recommends the Directors to send out special families as settlers, and indicates that the time has come when it is necessary to appoint somebody to administer the affairs of the new district. A couple of years later, in 1750, this last representation was duly accepted by the Directors, who appointed Storm's own son to be the first Commander of Demerara. In the report which he gave to the Directors that year, when he was in the Netherlands, Storm remarks that the products of Demerara are beyond anything to be seen in Essequibo.

It will be interesting to the British reader that

[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vii. p. 149. [2] *Ib.* p. 151. [3] See p. 217.

[4] The post of Mahaicony was maintained on the eastern border to secure the possession of the unsettled land between the settlements of Demerara and the colony of Berbice—see pp. 430 and 460.

[5] See p. 237.

within the next year or two several English, apparently led by Gedney Clarke of Barbados[1], had made a home on the Demerara river. By that time several plots of land had been allotted and mills were being erected, and before the end of 1752 Storm makes his first suggestion that Demerara would in a "short time surpass" Essequibo[2]. A few months later, on April 14, 1753, the Director-General reports[3] that lands for 37 new plantations had just been allotted, and that "the Colony will soon be full if the influx goes on at the same rate[4]." It was this development of Demerara that led up to the first proposals for a survey of the Pomeroon and the Waini[5]. By 1754 Storm was talking of a fort at Demerara[6], and in the next year he already had to deal with jealousy between Essequibo and its younger rival. With reference to this he again repeats his conviction that if the latter gets fair play it will in a short time surpass the older colony[7]. In August, 1755, Gedney Clarke urged the separation of Demerara from the jurisdiction of Essequibo[8], which was not unnatural, as the electors of Essequibo had shortly before positively refused to have a representative from the new settlement[9]. By November, 1760, Storm, reporting that the English were in a majority in Demerara[10], spoke of the construction of

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[1] See pp. 39–43 for Clarke's part in the rise of Demerara.

[2] See p. 286. [3] See p. 288.

[4] On *July 12* he reports "lands have now been allotted for 110 plantations" (see p. 301). [5] See p. 289.

[6] See p. 309. [7] See p. 334.

[8] See p. 333. [9] See p. 336.

[10] See p. 379. This he had, in fact, already admitted in *April, 1753*, and had then given permission for Divine service to be held there in English (see p. 292).

an English church there, and references in his despatch of August, 1761, to the large profits made by the younger Clarke[1] show how very well that Colony was doing. In this same despatch of August, 1761, Storm suggests for the first time that he ought to reside regularly for part of the year at Demerara[2], whither he was constantly called by difficulties of administration, and from that time onwards many of his despatches are written thence.

The admission of the inhabitants of Demerara to a voice in the affairs of the combined colony and the practical ascendency of that voice in the Courts of Policy and Justice only belongs to Storm's time so far as it was the outcome of his policy. The actual facts belong to the years immediately following his retirement.

Trade enterprise and exploration

Passing from definite settlement to the story of trade enterprise and exploration as set out in Storm's despatches we may take as a text the following passage from a despatch of 1746.

> "On the 7th of this month, one Ignatius Courthial made an application to the Court for permission to cut a road through the forest in the River Cuyuni, in order by that road to bring mules and oxen into this colony overland. It being possible that this may be of great profit and advantage, the permission was granted him on condition that there shall be paid to the Company 3 guilders recognition money for every mule, and 2 guilders for every horse or ox, and in order to prevent any fraud in this matter, it is my intention to place the Post which lies in Demerara (and now unnecessary there on account of the opening of the river) on this road instead, which Post, in addition to the trade which it will be able to

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[1] An actual net profit of £4000 in *1760*, and an estimated one of £5000 for *1761*. See p. 390.

[2] See p. 391.

carry on for the Honourable Company, will be amply provided for out of the recognition money.

"I have not yet established any Post in Barima because I have not yet been able to find any competent person to my liking to whom to intrust the same, for I think that Post might become of great importance[1]."

The extract is of special interest both in its bearing on development and as illustrating Storm's mind. Here, almost at the outset of his administration, Storm has to deal with a proposal of importance, and he tackles it in a business-like and masterly fashion. Besides arranging the concession for the Company's profit, he looks at once to the possibilities of extended trade: trade requires the presence of the Company's agents; yet in indicating his intention to place a post in Cuyuni, he explains how he can do this economically by a transfer from Demerara. The question of the post at Barima is of course incidental—a mere sequence of thought: but it indicates the extent of the territory over which Storm's supervision was active.

On the Cuyuni

This episode of Courthial's road gives a starting point from which to take a survey of the political geography of Essequibo during Storm's régime.

The road doubtless followed generally the old routes of the Cuyuni traders. It will be remembered that there was a Dutch post on the Pariacot Savannah prior to 1700[2], and this was at once the result and the evidence of considerable trade. It is improbable that Courthial proposed to do more than clear his road through the forest regions along the track which the traders usually used; his aim

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[1] See p. 217. [2] See p. 20.

was to make simply a good broad bush path by which he could bring down cattle. On the map[1] which Storm sketched for the Directors when he was home in 1750 the road is crudely marked: but it is doubtful whether it was ever completely run through the bush, as there drawn, to the Spanish missions which were then beginning to dot the far off savannah near the Orinoco. Indeed, our subsequent information as to Courthial's fortunes goes to show that he had only very partially carried out what would have been a singularly bold and formidable undertaking for one trader in that region and those times[2].

But apart from Courthial's plans, the effective occupation of the Cuyuni was a matter which Storm continually had before him. Many obstacles hindered the formal establishment of the projected post, amongst others his own visit to Europe, but at last it appears amongst the posts of the Company on the Muster-roll of 1755[3] as the "new post in Cajoene," with Johannes Neuman as Postholder. Its position on the map of the Colony was left undetermined till the researches consequent on the recent arbitration between Great Britain and Venezuela. It was then shown to have been without question at Aguigua, a short distance below Tokoropatti, in longitude 59° 43′ W.

The history of the post in part belongs to the third aspect under which we propose to treat Storm's administration. In 1758 it was raided by the only Spanish expedition which ever penetrated the Cuyuni: eight years elapsed before it was re-established and

[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. Atlas.*
[2] See pp. 241–243.
[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vii. p. 162.

in his interesting Treatise on the Posts[1] in 1764 Storm refers to it as vacant: in 1766 it was placed rather higher up the river than its old site on the island of Tokoropatti, and the local tradition of its existence survived down to our own times[2].

The position of the post, however, was not in Storm's opinion a limit of jurisdiction. In the Treatise on the Posts he specifically refers to the districts between and beyond the posts—and in one of his reports to the Company on the Spaniards' raid he contended that even if the post had been situated 50 hours higher up the stream it was a matter which could not concern the Spaniards[3]. He looked upon the post as maintaining Dutch influence over the whole surrounding district, a *point d'appui* for the Caribs and a safeguard against Spanish aggression or interference with Dutch trade and influence[4]. Storm never refers to the old post of 1685 in the Pariacot Savannah, and possibly had even lost the record of its existence; nor did he ever make any proposal for stationing an armed post so far from his base: but his intention in 1766 was to have re-established his post higher up the river than Tokoropatti, and he was hindered only by the nervousness of the official he had charged with the duty of reinstating it[5]. This second Cuyuni

[1] See p. 460 *et seq.*

[2] The remains of the later Dutch posts on the Cuyuni river were found by Schomburgk some 50 years after they had been actually abandoned as regular Dutch stations; the latest position was at Toenomoeto, at the Tonoma falls, to which Storm refers as being much lower down than he would have chosen. The three sites are indicated on the map which accompanies this volume.

[3] See p. 370. [4] See p. 431.

[5] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* iv. p. 46.

post was evidently one which it was difficult to man, and Storm's retirement removed the Governor who could overcome those constant difficulties to which he refers. The post is specially included in the Muster-roll of 1785[1], though it is returned as vacant, and may be considered, therefore, to have survived down to British times.

So much for the Cuyuni which, owing to the Spanish raid, is mentioned by Storm much oftener in the controversial part of his despatches than in those which deal with trade[2]. Christiaen Finet and Jan Stok are, besides Ignace Courthial, the only regular Cuyuni traders whom he mentions, and them only three times[3].

On the Massaruni

Turning to the Massaruni district, which lies southward and eastward between the Cuyuni and the Essequibo, we find it first mentioned by Storm in 1747[4]. Again in 1750 a matter of Indian jurisdiction[5] in that region leads up almost immediately to a reference which shows that trade with the Indians in the district was well established. The notorious Tampoco, one of Storm's chief emissaries[6], was evidently well acquainted with the upper parts of the Massaruni, though Storm's description of the river in his Treatise on the Posts[7] seems to show that it was by no means well known to the majority of colonists.

On the Upper Essequibo and Rupununi

But if the Massaruni district was only imperfectly known, a different story can be told of the Upper Essequibo. It will be remembered that Horstman's

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[1] P.R.O. vol. 494, p. 580.
[2] But see pp. 239, 240.
[3] See pp. 219, 220, 239, 250, 251 and 465.
[4] See p. 228.
[5] See p. 252.
[6] See p. 585.
[7] See p. 465.

journey up the Essequibo as a discoverer and trade commissioner was connected with Storm's earliest years in the Colony[1]. Throughout the period of his administration the exploration and development of this river was a special care to him. Christiaen Finet, Jan Stok and Ignace Courthial were also here the chief of the traders from whom Storm derived his information. These men went further afield than the Postholder at Arinda, the first position of which was near the mouth of the Siparuni—the later position at the mouth of the Rupununi at 4° of north latitude.

The earliest details of exploration in the Upper Essequibo came from the miners who were employed from 1741 to 1746 in prospecting for ores. The passage in which this is recorded is worthy of citation.

> "The miners have just come down the river, and have reported to me that, notwithstanding the sufferings caused by illness and want, they have examined the heaven-high mountains up in Essequibo; that many of them, being absolutely treeless, presented a fair appearance of containing ore, among others, the Calikko or Crystal Mountain, the top of which is full of brimstone and vitriol, and almost covered below with crystals and beautiful veins of silver ore; but that the Indian tribes living in that district had not permitted them to approach it without a deal of difficulty, terrified by the ill-treatment they had suffered at the hands of the neighbouring Portuguese; that the working of these mines would, moreover, entail a deal of trouble and expense, they being situated full three days' journey inland[2]."

The Crystal Mine or Mountain

It is interesting matter of speculation what the Calikko or Crystal Mountain really was[3], but one

[1] Cf. pp. 61, 62. [2] See p. 226.

[3] The indications given in the above passage point to a hill in the savannah country: and the only decided hills near the Rupununi in this direction are the Canaku Mountains—"Con-o-con" of the Portuguese

thing is certain : the description of its position clearly places it at a distance from the Dutch rivers—"three days' journey inland"—and near the Portuguese, who were at that date little further north than the Amazon. The reference at any rate shows the wide extension of Dutch influence to the southward, and it is matter for regret that Storm could never carry out the intention, which he certainly had at times, of obtaining a complete and accurate report upon these distant portions of his colony. For instance, it would be interesting to have something more about the alleged story of a volcano on the Siparuni[1].

For some years after this the despatches contain little affecting the Upper Essequibo beyond constant references to trade and Indian policy; it is hardly necessary to do more than refer to mention in 1763 of the Paravilhanas[2]—an Indian tribe living near the Rio Branco or beyond the savannah—as indi-

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maps. All the information we have gathered as to the Indian pronunciation suggests that the "l" and "n" are easily confused and that Calikko is a variant of Canaku. This is the view adopted in dealing with the matter for the Brazilian Case. From Mr McTurk (*vide* p. 125) no elucidation is forthcoming, but he states that the Macusis use the word "calecco" for "gravel."

[1] See p. 249.—Professor John B. Harrison of Demerara, who has given so much attention to the geology of the West Indies, informs us that he has recently been studying the question of volcanic action in Guiana and can find no evidence of such action during recent geological periods. But while there is no volcano, there are hills which at a distance resemble some of the West Indian volcanoes. The prevalence of clouds and mists round the summit of some such hill would appear to be the origin of the report that a volcano existed. Storm of course accepted his postholder's story, and marked a volcano on the map of the Colony which he prepared in *1749* : thence it came that a volcano near the Siparuni was marked on the map prefixed to Hartsinck's work, and so upon other maps in the latter part of the 18th century.

[2] See p. 415.

cating the distance to which Dutch influence extended at that date.

The most vivid description of the Dutch hold over the Essequibo district comes from the Treatise on the Posts. This most interesting passage should be read as a whole in the body of the documents[1]. It will be seen that the main inferences to be drawn from it are as follows :—

(1) The Essequibo was the regular path of traders to the south ; they followed the main stream up to the embouchure of the Rupununi and then the course of this river on to the savannahs, and so to still more distant regions.

(2) The connexion between the Rupununi, across the marsh of Lake Amucu, and the Mahu which joins the Amazon basin was well known to the Dutch traders[2].

(3) The Siparuni, an affluent of the Essequibo on the west, lower down than the Rupununi, was hardly known.

(4) The Essequibo itself above its junction with the Rupununi was not explored[3] ; and all that Storm can suggest is a story that its source must be near the Amazon, and perhaps even communicate with that river.

(5) Traders living in Storm's time had been so

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[1] See pp. 461–466. [2] Cf. p. 185.

[3] Schomburgk in his first and second journeys in the interior of British Guiana found his advance up the Essequibo completely checked by the great fall which he named King William IV's cataract. On his third journey in *1838* he worked round to the south and from this position finally discovered the sources of Essequibo, hoisting the British ensign to mark the spot (*Braz. Arb. Brit. App.* iii. p. 39).

far into the interior—clearly by the Rupununi and Mahu—that they had seen the Portuguese missions. This must mean that they had penetrated a good way down the Rio Branco at any rate.

(6) Both the "Crystal Mine" and the "Pyramid" were somewhere in this district.

It is interesting to find by a comparison of these accounts with the reports of Sir Robert Schomburgk[1] some eighty years later that the Dutch of Storm's time had carried exploration and intercourse with the Indians in this part of the Colony precisely to the points at which Schomburgk made his new departure.

The Pyramid

The question of "the famous but little known Pyramid" deserves more particular notice; and it will be interesting to cite Storm's first detailed account of it.

> "As to the pyramid, I have the honour to inform YY. HH. that already in the first years of my stay in these lands I heard many stories told by old inhabitants how up in the Rupununi there was a very high pyramid built of stone, of which people talked even in neighbouring districts; I have received several letters asking for information upon this subject, though I have never been and still am not able to give a satisfactory answer thereto, for, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken and the promises I have made, I have not succeeded in finding any one who would go to examine it because of inveterate superstition, the Indians all being unanimously of belief that it is the dwelling-place of the Jawaho, the name they give to the Devil. In the year 1740 a mulatto, Pieter Tollenaer (the same one who brought back Your Honours' creoles who had run away on account of the ill-treatment of the miner Hildebrand), at my request, undertook to make a voyage thither in company with two of these creoles and upon their return I was assured of the reality

[1] Reproduced in the *Braz. Arb. Brit. App.* iii. Cf. note on p. 111.

of that affair, for he brought with him a rough drawing thereof, and also of various images which he had seen near it cut in the stone.

"The circumstances that this mulatto died shortly after his return gave further support to the superstition, and, whatever trouble I have taken, I have not since that time been able to obtain information thereof, except only the report of the Councillor E. Pypersberg, who has recently died, that, as he was coming down Massaruni, up which he had gone in pursuit of his runaway slaves so far that he had come to nations who had never seen white people, he had distinctly seen, also on his right hand, in about the same direction, yet another very high pyramid, which he had been very curious to examine from near by, but, as he had only Indians with him besides his runaway and captured slaves, he had not dared to leave his boat[1]."

Storm was puzzled by hearing of other pyramids at some little distance in the Massaruni district[2] and he indicated that in his opinion these might all have been the work of some primitive people. We know now, however, that there were in fact no ancient monuments of a past race—the great pyramid of which Storm thought and wrote so much has been shown to be the great natural pyramid called Ataraipu which is situated some eight miles from the Quitaro—a tributary of the Rupununi—in latitude 2° 57′ N. It was first accurately described by Sir R. Schomburgk[3] and we have excellent later accounts by Barrington Brown[4]. Around it still hung in 1870 the legend of the "Jawaho" to which Storm refers[5].

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[1] See pp. 500, 501. [2] See p. 533.

[3] *Braz. Arb. Brit. App.* iii. pp. 10, 35, 36, 113, 122, 124 and 130.

[4] *Canoe and Camp Life in Brit. Guiana. 1877.*

[5] Netscher (*op. cit.* p. 389) hazarded the suggestion that this "Pyramid" was the great mountain Roraima: the same idea occurred quite independently to one of the editors in *1896* and will be found in a footnote to the Parl. paper C. 8106 *Venezuela, No. 3, 1896*, p. 129. But further investigation proved that it was the hill which Hancock had

It was not till 1769 that Storm found a post-holder who at last satisfied his aspirations, and sent him an account of his journeys which reflected credit on Dutch exploration. Jansse's report[1], which should be read in the light of Schomburgk's later and more scientific reports upon the same district[2], was the first clear account which Storm had received of the Macusis and Wapisanas, and it adds to his knowledge of the country beyond the Essequibo watershed; he learns that the Mahu (or Mejou) flows into the Rio Branco, which again joins the Rio Negro. The reference to the Manáos and the Paravilhanas is very interesting, though the facts are not altogether easy to reconcile with what we gather from other sources.

The main idea which took possession of Storm's mind as the result of this journey was the discovery of the crystal mine[3], and the hope that with the crystals might be found the emerald, for which Brazil was famous. But it is probable that the Indians had very little knowledge of the stones about which they talked, and as we hear no more of the mines in Storm's despatches we may assume these hopes came to nothing. At any rate there is no record down to the present day of the discovery of anything of value in the district which Jansse explored.

After this report there is little in the despatches to illustrate Dutch exploration in the Essequibo

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first marked and Barrington Brown described in terms almost identical with those of Storm's postholder. Sir Everard im Thurn, who knows it well, admits no question on the subject. It will be of interest to refer to Schomburgk's description (*Braz. Arb. Brit. App.* iii. p. 36).

[1] See pp. 616 *et seq.* [2] *Vide supra*, p. 78. [3] See p. 74.

district; but even so it may fairly be claimed that upon Storm's retirement the Dutch had under their general control a large area beyond the Essequibo and Rupununi stretching towards the Rio Branco.

East of the Essequibo and above the sources of the Demerara lies a country which the Dutch trader had hardly touched. There is no evidence that the upper reaches of the Essequibo or of the Corentin with the intervening district had ever been traversed except by the Indian till the day when Sir Robert Schomburgk explored them. But the Indian path from the Essequibo to the Demerara river was doubtless used by Dutch traders: we find references which clearly point to this both in regard to de la Chau[1] and to Courthial[2].

On the Coast: Moruca

On the coast west of Essequibo the first points of interest are the Moruca and Pomeroon. There was already a post on the Moruca in 1746[3]; and it was used not only to control, as we have already seen, the trade of the district to the west of it, but also to keep ward over the neighbouring rivers, i.e., the Waini and the Barima. In 1754 a new and apparently additional post was proposed on the Moruca[4], but the project came to nothing owing to the expense, and it certainly is difficult to see what special object it could have served. Two years later the post appears to have been moved to a position some 18 miles nearer the mouth of the river[5], and this is the position to which Storm must refer in the following extract of 1763.

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[1] See pp. 413 and 465.
[2] See pp. 217 and 242.
[3] See p. 219.
[4] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 92.
[5] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. pp. 123, 124.

> "The first is Marouka, situated between this river and Orinoco, under the direction of which are the rivers of Pomeroon and Waini....The road to the Spaniards leads past this Post, so that no one can go that road without the knowledge of the Postholder, who therefore, if he wishes, can generally get to know what is going on in Orinoco[1]."

A still fuller account of this post will be found in Storm's excellent Treatise on the Posts[2]. The intention to make it a fortified position which Storm had in mind in 1767[3] was in after years actually carried out, and in 1797 Moruca successfully resisted an attack in force[4] during the wars which troubled the latter years of the Colony.

As regards the rivers Pomeroon, Waini, and Barima, Storm was content to control them from Moruca, though on the Barima he did from time to time seriously think of establishing a separate post. In 1753 he was stirred by the rapid development of Demerara to send out surveyors to the Pomeroon and Waini[5], hoping that he could soon begin to grant lands there; but in 1754 the Pomeroon was still kept "unopened to trade[6]," though licences for timber cutting were granted in the Waini[7]. Three years later, when various petitions for leave to cut timber were before the Court and the West India Company, Storm delivered himself of a careful statement of his policy in regard to these rivers: he did not apparently object to granting casual licences of the sort requested, but he opposed altogether the opening of the river to settlement and trade as a course "most injurious to

Pomeroon.

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[1] See p. 430. [2] See pp. 468, 469. [3] See p. 545.
[4] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* v. pp. 168, 169.
[5] See p. 289. [6] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 92.
[7] *Op. cit.* p. 90.

this river and to the Demerara"—a matter not to be thought of "until Essequibo and Demerara are so thickly populated that not a foot of unappropriated land is to be found[1]." This opinion was opposed to the majority of the Court of Policy and the considered despatch in which he supports it deserves careful perusal; its peroration is in his best style—

> "I consider it my bounden duty never to lose sight of the interest of my masters, and I hope to persist therein with the help of the Lord until my end[2]."

And this in effect Storm did; for it was not till some years after he retired that the Pomeroon was once again opened to settlement.

Waini

Barima

Of Waini nothing more need be said; it is treated simply as an appendage of the Pomeroon: but it is different with the Barima, the story of which is distinctive and interesting. Though from the first days of his administration Storm contemplated the restoration of the post which for a short time had existed there, and though subsequently there is frequent casual mention of Barima and the Caribs who lived there under the jurisdiction of the Dutch, it was not till 1760 that we hear of Dutchmen actually settled in the Barima district[3]. This settlement seems to have been unauthorised by the Director-General; and a few years later Storm had great trouble with a certain van Rosen and others who had disobeyed his orders and settled there[4]. Storm's policy as regards Barima seems to have been similar to that respecting the Pomeroon. He wished to keep touch with the Indians in the district and to control the

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[1] See p. 351.
[2] See p. 353.
[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 187.
[4] See p. 504.

trade; but he did not desire to have colonists settled where they would be beyond the reach of his arm and rather a source of weakness to the Colony than an addition to its development.

As regards that wide area behind the sea coast and between the line of the Barima, Waini and Pomeroon on the north and the Cuyuni to the south, it seems to have been practically untouched by the Dutch.

### (ii) *Indian Policy.*

We turn to the second line along which it is proposed to review Storm's administration.

Throughout the districts which we have just surveyed—on the Barima and the coast, on the furthest Cuyuni, on the Massaruni, the Essequibo or the Demerara—we find mixed up with every project of settlement, every extension of jurisdiction, the mention of some Indian tribe. The use of the Indians had from the first been a feature of Dutch colonisation. Early Spanish documents[1] are full of references to the Dutch alliance with the Caribs; the Portuguese records[2] give us the story of Dutch domination of the Rio Negro through the Manáo chief Ajuricaba. We cannot, then, claim for Storm's administration any new departure in Indian policy, but in a marked degree he consolidated that policy. He policed the interior through the Indians: he used them as native levies, and in the crisis brought upon Dutch rule by the rising of the

[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App. passim.*

[2] Under date of *1727*. *Braz. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 24, 25.

negroes in Berbice[1] the Indians appear as a sort of militia or police which had become part of the general machinery of government.

Throughout Storm's despatches the Indians all over the Colony continually crop up in one relation or another to the Dutch administration—

"The Caribs subject to us in the river Waini[2]."

"The Indians from that direction [the Upper Cuyuni] are flying hither and praying for our protection[3]."

"Easy of accomplishment on my part through the Caribs[4]."

"I have always, but with great difficulty, restrained [the Indians] and prevented hostilities by fair promises[5]."

"Some Caribs from the River Massaruni were come to complain of the colonist Pieter Marchal[6]."

"Being convinced of the justice of the Indians' complaints, I closed the river and forbade individuals trading there[7]."

"The natives our friends close by the Post Arinda[8]."

"Some Caribs from the Barima came and complained[9]."

"Warn the Caribs and other Indians at the earliest opportunity to make ready as soon as possible vessels to serve as outlying posts[10]."

"The Indians up in Cuyuni have only this week caused me to be assured that they will guard the passage well[11]."

All these short passages casually taken from despatches covering less than ten years[12] show how in every phase of administration the Dutch government was in contact with the Indians; the Commander, on the one hand, was their protector and the representative of the sovereign power: they, on the other, were ready at his bidding to undertake police work against the negro slaves, or to operate against the

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[1] See pp. 415–443. [2] See p. 219. [3] See p. 220.
[4] See p. 229. [5] See p. 240.
[6] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 64. [7] See p. 250.
[8] See p. 251. [9] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 72.
[10] See p. 309. [11] See p. 326. [12] *1746* to *1754*.

enemies of the Dutch. It is, indeed, impossible to read the despatches without realising that Storm attached the greatest importance to a sound Indian policy[1].

It is probable that his views in this matter were of gradual growth. Despite the general friendly relations between the Indians and the Dutch, there had from the first been a tendency on the part of the Dutch to play off one Indian tribe against another. Even Storm himself was not entirely free from this idea. For instance, when in 1763 the Manáos[2] intimated their wish to come into closer relations with the Dutch, and the Caribs gave signs of opposing the effort, Storm observes in the most cold-blooded way that he expects the result will be a most bloody war, and he even hopes that the Caribs (his old and faithful friends though they were) will "get a good hiding[3]." On the other hand, at a period not greatly differing in time, when the case of the Caribs and the Akawois was before the Court of Policy and he had a majority of the Court in favour of ordering the Caribs to take the field against the Akawois, Storm strongly opposed the idea[4]. If it be suggested that Storm may be charged with inconsistency in this matter, something may be forgiven to a man who was

[1] See pp. 175–189 for a full note on the principal tribes.

[2] It is of interest to find Storm then writing the name of these Indians in the Spanish or Portuguese form. In the earlier Dutch despatches they appear as *Maganauts*, *Maganautsche Natie* or *Magnouws*, where the *gn* represents the same nasal sound that we have in the Portuguese Manáos. The differences in form represent slight differences of pronunciation and transliteration which are common in all the attempts to record Indian names.

[3] See p. 414.

[4] See p. 341.

feeling his way in a young settlement with a peculiarly difficult set of Councillors to drive, and of Directors to humour.

Storm's native policy generally was a broad and enlightened one: so far as it was actuated by self-interest it certainly recognised that self-interest was bound up in the general interest of the Indian tribes. It was an advanced policy for that age. In 1750, when Storm was on leave in Europe, he made a special report to the Directors of the West India Company which contains a remarkably wise statement of his general Indian policy. While he treats the Indians as the natural friends and allies of the Dutch, he lays great stress on the folly of placing arms of precision in the hands of natives[1]. His statements and arguments on this point are precisely those which have been familiar within the past half century to British administrators in Africa: nor did he overlook the danger that the competition of neighbouring colonies might frustrate his broader view, just as Great Britain has in West Africa had to face the reluctance of French or German merchants to adopt the policy which all in theory recommended.

Most striking in Storm's Indian policy is the way in which the Indian chiefs were encouraged to bring their cases before the Dutch Courts of Justice and to attempt a settlement by judicial process. In 1755 we have one of the earliest and best cases of this sort. There had been a serious trouble amongst the Caribs, the Akawois and Arawaks. The Akawois,

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[1] See p. 268.

who are described as spread over Demerara, Essequibo, and Massaruni, had in a manner risen against the Dutch. The situation was anxious and required careful handling. Storm's despatch of the 27th of August 1755[1], to which we just now referred[2], after stating his general views on the subject proceeds to give reasons for his opinion that certain of the colonists were really at the bottom of the *émeute*. His view was evidently justified; a few months later an Owl, or Chief of the Caribs, was formally brought before the Court of Justice and "circumstantially interrogated" on the whole subject of the rising of the Akawois and his connexion with it[3]. He implicated a Dutch settler, who, however, was acquitted of the charges brought against him on the formal ground that no Indian's evidence can prevail against that of white men. Storm plainly states that he did not concur in the acquittal, but he observes that the whole inquiry has done good and that the matter will probably now settle down.

Summed up broadly, Storm's general idea on this subject is embodied in a brief sentence of a despatch of 1762.

> "So long as we have the good fortune to stand well with the Indians (and I shall always try to remain so) and keep them under our protection, so long, I say, we need have no fear[4]";

and with this we may compare the description of his policy as expressed in a despatch of 1769 towards the end of his administration:—

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[1] See pp. 342, 343.

[2] See p. 85.

[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 123. Many of the best instances of such judicial procedure in Indian affairs do not of course occur in the despatches, but in the records of the Courts of Policy and Justice.

[4] See p. 398.

"There is no one, Your Honours, who is more convinced how advantageous and necessary the friendship of the Indians is to this Colony, because so long as we are fortunate enough to have them living around us we are quite safe inland, and have nothing to fear concerning the desertion of our slaves. I therefore neglect no possible opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the same and of protecting them from all the ill-treatment and tyranny of the whites as far as it is expedient to do, and in this way I have made myself so beloved by them that I can now get them to do whatever I wish. In order to attach the Arawaks to this Colony and to prevent them from removing to Berbice upon the arrival of the new Governor I have even given them a Commander to their liking, under whom all who live between this river and Berbice now stand[1]."

The result of the policy just described was shown at the time of the dangerous revolt of the slaves in Berbice[2]. The actual force of this revolt was confined to a colony for which Storm was in no sense responsible. But danger to Berbice bred danger to Demerara and Essequibo; so Storm disposed of the whole of his force to help Berbice in its extremity. He called upon the Indians from every part of the Colony. He set Caribs and Arawaks in motion throughout Essequibo, from the Rupununi and the Cuyuni to the Corentin and the Abari; and in large measure to this successful use of the Indians we may attribute the safety of the sister colony. It is a fine picture of successful handling of native levies which we get in the pages of the despatches, and Storm himself cannot help breaking out into expressions of a certain wonder and admiration[3].

In closing this brief sketch of Storm's Indian

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* iii. p. 5.

[2] See pp. 415–443.

[3] See p. 447.

policy we may observe that its results remained down to our own times. The Indians claimed from the British in the next century the privileges and alliance which they enjoyed under the Dutch; and the position was readily accepted.

### (iii) *Boundary Disputes with Spain.*

When all is said and done it is the diplomatic side of Storm's administration which is the most interesting and perhaps the most important.

Storm's investigation of the boundaries of the Colony under his command, and his maintenance of the rights of the Dutch Company against the aggressions of the Spaniards were at once the foundation and the coping stone of his efforts to consolidate that colony as a geographical unit. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance which his despatches had in the recent boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela[1]. Just as his careful trade administration and his Indian policy fixed the geographical extension of the Colony of British Guiana, so his vigorous denunciation of Spanish claims and his insistence on the responsibility of the Dutch Company to their furthest limits furnish the legal basis upon which the British found their title to their one South American colony.

Storm from the earliest years of his government was familiar with little affrays along the coast and alarms as to the Spanish attacks upon the Indians of the Moruca and Waini: these were part of the every day life of the Colony, and no great notice

[1] See pp. 5 and 6.

was taken of them; but, when in July 1746 "the colonist Finet[1]" brought tidings that some months previously the Spaniards had established a Mission up in the Cuyuni and had built a small fort there, he recognised that there was a new and more serious situation to face.

At the moment, Storm's ideas of the position of this alleged Spanish fort were very vague[2]. We know from Spanish sources that, as a matter of fact, it was right up in the savannah, probably beyond the tributaries of the Cuyuni; but it had evidently disturbed the Cuyuni Indians, and Storm immediately asked for instructions how he was to act:—

> "I feel not the least diffidence as to dislodging them from that place and capturing those forts, but such a step being one of great consequence, I dare not take anything upon myself, especially as the proper frontier line there is unknown to me[3]."

This is the first mention of boundary questions in the history of Essequibo. It is not unnatural that Storm should have been very cautious as to the action that he was to take, seeing that any expedition to attack the Spaniards at the Mission in

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[1] See p. 219; cf. p. 73.

[2] It is interesting to notice how Storm's "intelligence" service made these "forts" appear very much nearer the Colony than they were. When Storm sounded his first note of alarm the actual cause of it was in the Orinoco basin. The mission against which he protested in *1749* was doubtless that of Miamo, on the "Meyamo" (his Mejou of *1754*, see pp. 307 and 617), still far away from the Cuyuni itself. It was not till some years later that any Spanish Mission was founded on a direct tributary of the Cuyuni. At no time did the missions come very near the main stream. This interesting point of history was fully brought out in the discussion concerning the Venezuelan Boundary.

[3] See p. 220.

question would have taken him very far from his base through a difficult forest country: as we know now, it would have carried him actually outside any area which the Dutch could fairly claim.

A little later[1] Storm once more receives news that the Spaniards are thinking of founding another Mission a little lower down the river[2]. The Caribs apparently expressed a desire to surprise the Mission and level it to the ground. Storm restrained them: he saw the serious consequences of permitting such a step. At the same time he was fully aware of the danger of having the Spaniards approaching the Colony too closely, and some months later he returns to the charge[3].

> "I should already long ago have removed and demolished the first fort up in Cuyuni (which, even now, is easy to accomplish on my part through the Caribs) if I were but rightly conscious of how far the limits of Your Honours' territory extends[4]."

The West India Company, however, were not better informed as to their limits than their Governor, and after discussion of Storm's reports could only propose to make a full investigation of the boundaries of the Colony; at the same time they suggested that if by indirect means, and without himself appearing therein, Storm could get the Spaniards dislodged from their positions, he might well do it[5]. Storm himself however had already taken action which was for the moment effective. He had written to the Governor of Cumaná[6] that unless the Mission were

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[1] *December, 1746.*
[2] See p. 224.
[3] *March, 1747.*
[4] See p. 229.
[5] See p. 229. *Sept. 1747.*
[6] See pp. 233 and 240.

removed he should be compelled, however unwillingly, to use means which would be disagreeable to the Spaniards. The result had been most satisfactory: he received a very polite reply[1], and not only was the Mission moved back, but a special envoy from amongst the priests was sent to the Colony to apologise and give friendly assurances.

Soon after this incident Storm left the Colony on a visit to Europe[2], and in his absence[3], indeed shortly after his departure, Spoors, the Acting Commander, as a result of special efforts to find how far the Spaniards had gone, sent home the reassuring news "that the last Mission which is being constructed is in a certain little river called Imataca, situated far off in Orinoco[4]," which was, in his opinion, far outside the concern of the Colony. At this time the Spanish Missions beyond the Cuyuni were disposed to be on most friendly terms, offering to start a regular cattle trade with the Dutch colony[5].

Storm had returned from his holiday and been some time in the Colony again before he had any more boundary trouble; then it was in a different direction. First in 1753 came the rumour that emissaries from Sweden had arrived in Surinam

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[1] *Jan. 1749.* See p. 244. Storm appears to have been fairly insistent in his communications with the Spanish Governor, for he writes:—"Seeing that all my remonstrances and letters to the Spaniards are of no avail and no redress is obtainable, I intend to tell the chiefs of the Indians when they come to me that I can provide no redress for them, and that they must take measures for their own security. Then I feel assured that in a short time no Spaniard will be seen any more up in Cuyuni." (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 58; cf. also pp. 63 and 93 with reference to the same occasion.)

[2] See p. 36.

[3] *Sept. 1750.*

[4] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 69.

[5] *Ib.*

in order to make enquiry respecting the river Barima[1]. Storm very naturally asked for the orders of his Directors how to conduct himself in that case, but this matter never became of much importance. A year later (1754) Storm received much more alarming news, which gave rise to one of his most interesting diplomatic despatches[2], one which also indicates that his Intelligence Department was, on the whole, very good. The news was that a soldier of some eminence in the neighbouring Spanish colony was taking steps which seemed to threaten the Dutch possessions: it came apparently not only from the Indians but from correspondents in neighbouring British settlements. Any concealed movement was clearly a matter of some anxiety, for Storm, as he observes, could hardly detach eight or ten men to garrison and defend the post of Moruca. The alarm caused him to review all the occasions of difficulty which might present themselves at the moment, evidently casting an anxious eye not only on the Orinoco and Barima, but also to the distant frontier beyond the Cuyuni, where two more Spanish Missions were reported. Further rumours, apparently received from Barbados[3], led him to take immediate steps to place the whole Colony in a state of defence; and incidentally he reports that on sending a message to the Caribs to keep themselves ready for emergencies, he found that his warning was practically unnecessary[4]. That nation was furious with the Spaniards because they had located a Mission in Cuyuni within a district

[1] See p. 293.
[2] See pp. 305–308.
[3] See p. 310.
[4] See p. 311.

which the Caribs considered their own: they had made an alliance with a neighbouring tribe, and had massacred the whole of the Mission. "This sad accident," remarks Storm, "has covered us on that side, so that we have nothing to fear from that direction[1]." Equally reassuring was the action of the slaves on the plantation "Pelgrim" when they were told that they might retire at the first alarm of attack. They replied that they were not inclined to yield a foot, and that they would soon see if they could not be equal with the Spaniards[2]. Before he closed the despatch, however, the Director-General could report that a thousand assurances had been given that there was no aim directed against the Dutch[3] and that generally the feeling of anxiety was passing away[4].

Yet the wary Storm had no illusions as to the danger from his restive neighbours. "They will try," he said[5], "to creep in softly, and as far as possible to approach and surround us," and it was clearly with a view to checkmating any move of this sort that a post was at last placed some distance up the Cuyuni. As to this Storm reports that the

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[1] See p. 312. [2] See p. 313. [3] See p. 317.

[4] As a matter of fact Storm's suspicions were very largely justified. In the *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* (vol. ii. pp. 77–89) there is set out a most instructive correspondence which shows that in *1754* there was a secret agreement between Spain and Portugal to make an effort, without open declaration of war, to squeeze out the Dutch from their possessions in America. The expeditions of which Storm had heard were part of what might be described as a deep-laid plot against Dutch dominion in South America, and the assurances conveyed to the Dutch Governor by the Spanish Governor of Cumaná were really mere diplomatic niceties.

[5] See p. 332.

Chiefs of the Panacays[1], a powerful tribe which had never been before in the Colony, had expressly come down to offer help against the Spaniards and to settle down with their dwellings around the post[2].

Passing by the diversion made in the direction of Moruca, which was the first indication of a series of raids by Spanish agents[3], we will keep to the more important story of the Cuyuni post, which actually provoked the very attack of which Storm was apprehensive.

On the 9th of September, 1758, Storm reports to the Directors at home that the Cuyuni post had been raided by the Spaniards[4]. "Nearly all the Carib Indians living on the river" had come down the stream and reported that the Spaniards of Orinoco, estimated at about one hundred, had made a successful raid upon the Post, carried off the Post-holder and his assistant, a Dutch servant, his wife and children, laid waste the Post and all around it, and threatened to come down and serve the whole Colony in the same way. Storm took the whole affair with rare good sense. He shows himself a man who knew how to behave in a crisis. Instead of losing his head, he indicates what the proper

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[1] See p. 312 for particulars respecting this tribe.

[2] See p. 332.

[3] The incident is of special interest as an example of the accurate way in which Storm regarded these frontier questions. One of the Missionary Fathers in Orinoco wrote to the postholder at Moruca and demanded the return of certain Indians who were alleged to be Spanish subjects. The letter which was sent by the postholder to his correspondent was drafted by Storm himself, and might in a manner be regarded as part of Storm's own correspondence (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 122).

[4] See p. 356.

action of the Spanish Viceroy should have been; he emphasizes the importance of the river, refers to d'Anville's view of the Dutch boundaries[1], and announces his intention of sending at once to Orinoco to demand satisfaction. With very little delay he addressed a despatch[2] in French to the Commandant in Orinoco, protesting against the action which had just been reported to him, and dealing in terms of dignified remonstrance with the violation of territory, which now bid fair to disturb the peaceful relations between Spain and the Netherlands. He got scant satisfaction from the provisional Governor of Cumaná[3], to whom the Commandant of Guayana had forwarded this letter. Haughtily and vaguely the Spaniard claimed that the river Cuyuni was in Spanish territory, and that the Dutch Post-holder was carrying on a slave trade within the Spanish dominions: the restitution of the prisoners was declined[4]. The reply[5] which Storm's son-in-law as Military Commandant returned by his chief's direction to the Commandant in Orinoco is a document which upholds the best traditions of an offended diplomacy. In the name of the States-General, his

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[1] See note on p. 63 as to d'Anville's Map—i.e. the first edition of his great map of S. America.

[2] See pp. 363–365.

[3] Under the Vice-Royalty of Santa Fé (New Granada) there were originally five Governments and two Comandancias. At the time Storm was writing one of the chief Governments was that of Cumaná, and under Cumaná was the Comandancia or Province of Guayana. The seat of the Government was at the town called Santa Agnes of Cumaná.

From time to time there appear to have been certain changes of administrative relation between the Province of Guayana and the Government of Cumaná; but into these it is not material to enter.

[4] See p. 366. [5] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 173.

sovereigns, Storm persisted in his remonstrance, and for the second time demanded the liberation of the prisoners and suitable satisfaction for the violation and insult done to the territory he administered. He warned the Spaniard at the same time that the whole correspondence was being sent to Europe, and that he had every confidence that the Government in Madrid would, without hesitation, give complete satisfaction.

The resolutions[1] of the Dutch West India Company read very lame by the side of Storm's vigorous protests. But it is probable that he had backed up his official despatch by one of his private communications to the advisers of the Prince of Orange[2], and in August 1759 a formal Remonstrance by the States-General was on its way to the Court of Spain[3]. This Remonstrance stopped any local negotiations on the subject[4], but Storm did not hesitate to keep Their High Mightinesses stirred up on the subject. His despatch of the 2nd of May 1760[5] is very interesting, both from the point of view of geography and that of international law. It is also one of the best indications of his own personal views of the geographical extent of the Colony. With it should be read a further statement of his opinions in despatches of the 28th of May[6] and the 12th of August 1761[7], where he

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[1] See pp. 358, 362 and 369.

[2] William IV died in *1751*. William V, born in *1748*, attained his majority eighteen years later. Storm may have written to Count William Bentinck, as he almost certainly did in *1751* and *1768*. See pp. 277 and 589–592.

[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. pp. 176, 177.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 182.

[5] See pp. 373, 374.

[6] See p. 384.

[7] See pp. 388, 389.

indicates his views not only as to the interior, but also as to the boundary on the coast. He received no encouragement from his masters to take violent action. They relied upon his prudence not to resort to reprisals[1].

Storm had now entered on a time of continuous anxiety and trouble. Scarcely a year had elapsed after the Remonstrance had been sent to the Spanish Court, when the Spaniards, to use Storm's phrase, "began to put out their horns again." In October 1760 he reported[2] that they had attacked the Dutch in Barima, and were also threatening the Moruca post. It is interesting to notice with what great caution the Dutch West India Company received his announcement of these outrages[3]. The Netherlands were evidently very unwilling to be drawn into any real quarrel with Spain at the moment and the Company moved very slowly[4], despite Storm's urgent representations that the matter was of extreme importance to the Colony[5].

This inaction did not commend itself to Storm:

> "If I," he writes, "were permitted, Your Honours, to do as they are doing, I would risk my old head once more, and make them pay doubly for the annoyance they are causing us[6]."

He had to content himself, however, for the moment, with giving special instructions[7] to one of the settlers on the Cuyuni,—chiefly for the purpose of stopping runaway slaves—with protesting to the Company that more vigorous measures were required[8], and with endeavouring to gain from the

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 186. [2] See p. 376.
[3] See note on p. 376. [4] See remarks on p. 389. [5] *Ib.*
[6] See p. 393. [7] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 202. [8] See p. 405.

Governor of Trinidad[1] the satisfaction which he had so far failed to get from the Commandant in Orinoco. By the beginning of 1763 he could stand it no longer. He urged that his first duty was to re-establish the post at Cuyuni with an adequate guard[2], and apparently his appeals had some effect, for the West India Company sent him twenty soldiers in the middle of 1763[3], ten or twelve of which he was to employ in manning the new post in Cuyuni; they promised a further draft as soon as possible.

However a much more pressing and imperative demand was interposed: the rising of the slaves in Berbice, to which reference has already been made[4], claimed all Storm's attention. It was not till the beginning of 1766 that he could take his first steps towards re-establishing the post on the Cuyuni[5], urged on by the news he had received that the Spaniards were trying to establish further Missions in that part. So in 1766 the post was at last completed and on the 8th of December of that year Storm reported[6] that he had found a competent postholder in the person of one Pierre Martyn, formerly a corporal in the service. Even then on the frontier there were little difficulties proceeding, and Storm is led to expatiate on the great importance of the posts for the Colony and on the difficulty of getting really good men who will worthily uphold

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[1] The Government of Trinidad, though its seat was on an island, had jurisdiction over part of the mainland: it was for many years one of the chief Governments into which the Spanish dominions in South America were divided. Comp. note 3 to p. 96.

[2] See p. 408.

[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 225.

[4] See pp. 42–44.

[5] See p. 497.

[6] See p. 518.



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the traditions of the service at that distance from headquarters.

It was not unnatural that the re-establishment of the post should be followed by alarms. Apart from the little stories that came down through the Indians, it was to the interest of some people to suggest that things were going wrong: Storm's despatches show that there were certain ill-disposed people in the settlement who tried to disseminate evil reports for the simple sake of annoying their Governor. During 1767 he was worried by reports as to the destruction both of the new post on the Cuyuni and of the post at Arinda: they were eventually proved to be false, and in 1768 there was a period of calm. But 1769 began again with sinister rumours, and on hearing of the establishment of a new Spanish mission and fort and of the loss of certain runaway slaves Storm breaks out, "It is finished now, Your Honours; neither postholders nor posts are of any use now[1]." In his next despatch he talks of the dangerous position of the river Cuyuni[2]: and when news came that the Spaniards had made a descent upon Moruca[3], the old Governor is stirred to indignation. "Had I the power, and were my hands free, I should not feel embarrassed, and would be quite willing to risk my grey head in the affair[4]." With all the strength that he can muster he urges that the States-General should be induced to make an effort for the preservation of the Dutch territory. Then, even as he closes his letter, a new rumour reaches him that a tribe of Indians, egged on by the Spaniards, had

[1] See p. 601.
[2] See p. 602.
[3] See p. 607.
[4] See p. 608. Cf. quotation on p. 98.

met the Postholder of Arinda in Rupununi, and had slain him with all the Caribs that were with him. As it turned out, things were not nearly so bad as reports made them. The Spaniards had come down to the Moruca post and acted in a very high-handed way, carrying off some of the slaves from the post, on the ground that they were Christians, but the post in the Cuyuni was quite safe, and the alarm about the Postholder of Arinda turned out to be nothing. Indeed, so far as the Cuyuni was concerned Storm was shortly receiving letters from the Postholder[1] as to removing the post to a better situation and putting it into better order, while from Arinda he not only had good news, but even got his first authentic accounts of the Crystal Mine[2] and once more was inspired with the hope of successful mining enterprise in the districts beyond the Rupununi[3].

By that time, however, Storm's letters to the Company and to the Prince of Orange[4] had had their effect. They evidently made an immediate impression, and within a short period of their receipt the second great Remonstrance[5] was addressed by the States-General to the Government at Madrid.

The Remonstrance of August 1769 may be counted as the crown of Storm's efforts. It was received with courtesy and attention by the Spanish, and though it never had a final and direct answer, even after fifteen years of consideration[6], it practically stopped overt acts of aggression.

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* iv. p. 15. [2] See p. 616. [3] See p. 620.
[4] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* iv. p. 25. Cf. Note 2 on p. 97.
[5] *Op. cit.* iv. pp. 29–34. [6] *Op. cit.* v. pp. 32 *sqq.*

The document is interesting as embodying a formal claim to the Colony as it then stood, namely that the Dutch had

"from time almost immemorial been in possession not only of the River Essequibo and of several rivers and creeks which flow into the sea along the coast, but also of all branches and streams which fall into the same River Essequibo, and more particularly of the most northerly arm of the same river called the Cuyuni."

Much the same assertion was contained in the earlier Remonstrance of 1759[1] and may be looked upon as the definite claim in the face of the world to the boundaries of the territory to which Storm had devoted his life.

Here we may close our survey of Storm's administration as Director-General of Essequibo and Demerara. That survey has been confined to those aspects of his work which are most germane to an estimate of the Dutch sphere of influence in Guiana. Of all the other matters which went to make up his daily life as a governor, his care for the Company's interests, his struggles with selfish colonists, his attitude towards the officials and to the Courts of Policy and Justice, we say nothing. The despatches themselves indicate how much might be written on these subjects from the public point of view as well as in their effect on the man. It will now be for us to see how succeeding generations enjoyed the benefit of what Storm had done.

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[1] See p. 97.

# CHAPTER V.

## CLOSING YEARS OF DUTCH OCCUPATION. 1772–1814.

Storm was succeeded by Hendrik Trotz, who apparently, like most successors, was not unwilling to criticise the action of his predecessor[1]. Trotz, however, carried on the main traditions of Storm's policy, particularly as regards the Indians, and it fell to him to make in 1774, apparently for the first time in the history of the Colony, a presentation of insignia and rewards, miserably inadequate as they may seem, for the valuable services rendered by the Caribs and others during the Berbice Rebellion and the serious negro rising in Demerara to which reference was made in a previous chapter. From this time a policy of organising Indians under Dutch control became a permanent one. Staves of office, first suggested by the Court of Policy in 1774 and apparently first awarded in 1778, became the ordinary symbol of a chieftainship in alliance with the Dutch[2]: and this

[1] "The former Governor," writes Trotz on the *23rd Dec. 1773*, "never left the Fort either to inspect the Honble. Company's plantations...or to investigate or inquire into any other matters of the Colony." (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* iv. p. 121.) It would seem always to be a weakness of Colonial Governors in all ages to find fault with the acts of their predecessors. Trotz merely conformed to the rule of small men.

[2] These staves of office, which were originally instituted by the Dutch, were evidently greatly prized by the Indian chiefs. They were continued by the British and have remained down to present times. Several such staves dating from the early part of the 19th century were exhibited before the Tribunal in the case between Great Britain and Venezuela, and one of those from the North Western District is now in the possession of one of the writers.

definite Indian connexion grew to be the mainstay of Dutch administration in the interior. The special relation subsisting between the Indian tribes and the Dutch was almost naturally transferred to the British when, thirty years later, they finally took over the Colony; and it will be found to have formed one of the chief safeguards of the territorial claims which the British have recently made good before the world.

To geographical or boundary questions (which are, of course, of more particular interest in this Introduction) there are comparatively few direct references in the time of Trotz or his successors[1]. This is doubtless mainly due to the result of the great Remonstrance to which allusion has already been made[2]; but a special reason for it is also to be found in the history of the Colony, both internal and external, during the years which succeeded Storm's retirement.

In 1773, the year after this took place, a reorganisation of the government of Essequibo and Demerara was undertaken by the Assembly of Ten. It was decided to send separate Standing Instructions to the Commander of Demerara, and to have a Court

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[1] The few important incidents bearing on the question were fully discussed in the arguments submitted by Great Britain in the Venezuelan and Brazilian Boundary Cases. A sample of these is the desertion of the Postholder Leclair in *1776* and the arrest of two Portuguese who, having learned the way from Leclair, found their way to the Dutch post. That particular incident called forth from the Director-General Trotz the observation—"It is a pity that the boundary line, if I may call it so, lies so far up the river...I shall, however, see whether in the next dry season it will not be possible to take four weeks to arrange this business." *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* iv. pp. 139, 140.

[2] See p. 101.

of Policy and Justice in each Colony. The scheme was generally approved by the States-General in spite of opposition from the Zeeland Chamber, who were only able to obtain the addition of a provision that the supremacy of Essequibo was recognised in certain matters affecting both the settlements, and that for certain purposes the combined Courts of the two settlements were to meet at Fort Zeelandia.

Paulus van Schuylenburg was the first separate Commander of Demerara; with his appointment the new arrangement came into force, and was continued up to the date of the capture of the Colonies by the British in 1781.

Meanwhile, as Storm himself had foreseen, Demerara was developing far faster than the older settlement: in spite of great increase in the grants of land on the Pomeroon the centre of gravity was gradually shifting to Demerara. The success of the sugar plantations in the hands of certain pushing English settlers added a special impulse to this tendency.

In 1781 war broke out between the English and the Dutch, and one of the first British successes in the West Indies was the capture of Demerara. This was followed by the fall of Essequibo and Berbice. Early in the following year the Colonies were taken by the French, with whom the English were also at war, and curiously enough the French laid the foundation of one great permanent change. On a point near the mouth of the Demerara they erected a fort, named Fort Dauphin, and close by they made the beginning of a new

town, to be called Longchamps. When the Colony was restored by France in 1783, the Dutch administration were quick to perceive that they had the nucleus of a better capital of the two Colonies in Demerara. They gave to the French town the name of Stabroek and to the neighbouring Fort the name "Willem Frederik[1]," which it still bears in an Anglicized form to-day; and when in 1789 two Commissioners, Willem August van Sirtema, Baron van Grovestins[2], and W. C. Boeij, were sent out to enquire into the reorganisation of the Colonies, Stabroek was taken as the capital of the combined new Colony of Demerara and Essequibo. Henceforward Essequibo dropped distinctly into the second place. The new Colony of Demerara and Essequibo was placed under one Governor and had one general Court of Policy and Criminal Justice: Essequibo had its separate Commander with a minor Court for settling local affairs.

To one more landmark in the history we may refer: on the 1st of January 1792, on the expiration of the charter of the old West India Company, the Colony came under the direct control of a Council appointed by the States-General.

It will be readily understood that during a period when the Colonies were constantly changing hands, the whole Dutch administration was thrown out of joint; the posts in the interior were allowed to fall into disrepair, and there was a general loss of heart

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[1] In honour of the Stadholder's eldest son, afterwards William I, King of the Netherlands, great-grandfather of the present sovereign.

[2] Baron Sirtema van Grovestins was appointed the first Governor of the combined Colony (see p. 281).

and failure of purpose. For the moment everything was in abeyance. The most that can be said is that no foreigner interfered in the interior, and that what Storm had done remained a tradition, apparently dormant for a time, but safely embodied in the recollection of the Indian tribes. The year 1791 is the last in which there is an absolute record of the maintenance of the Arinda post; but as there seems to have been some real and abiding interest in the southern interior it is likely enough that the post remained up to 1796, when the British, for the second time, took the Colony. On the Cuyuni there was very little movement, and the Barima was quiescent. The Spaniards were incapable of giving very much trouble, and the Indian trade seems to have lost its activity. At Moruca, however, the post had become a fortified station which successfully withstood a determined attack by the Spaniards in 1797[1].

As just mentioned, England took the Colonies for the second time in 1796, but on the 3rd of December 1802, in pursuance of the peace of Amiens, they were restored to the Dutch—yet only for a short time. During September in the following year, on the renewal of war, they once more fell to the British, whose hands they never left again, being finally ceded under the Treaty of 1814.

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* v. pp. 168, 169.

## CHAPTER VI.

### SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARIES UNDER THE BRITISH.

It is unnecessary here to do more than refer briefly to the main events of internal history which marked the progress of the Colonies under British control. In 1812 the determination of England to hold the country was indicated by the change of the capital's name from Stabroek to Georgetown. Certain minor constitutional changes which followed,—the abandonment of cotton and increased cultivation of sugar—the troubles surrounding the final death of slavery—the struggles between the Legislature and Executive—for all these a word suffices, and we pause only at the 21st of July 1831, when Berbice was united with Demerara and Essequibo, and the Colony of British Guiana was constituted. Henceforth Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice were but three counties or provinces.

The ordinary political history affected only a small part of the actual Colony—a mere fringe on the coast. What may be described as the geographical history was connected with a series of interesting expeditions and explorations whose interest passed beyond the Colony itself. We shall take these in order.

## (i) *Hancock's expedition.*

It was not very long after the final cession of the Colonies that the British began to realise their responsibilities towards the natives in the interior. In 1807 the Indians far up the Essequibo having some domestic squabble which they would, in the ordinary course, have referred to the Dutch, sent a messenger to ask[1] for the intervention of the British Government. No special notice was taken of the request till in the early part of 1810 the arrival of a further messenger purporting to come from a great Carib Chief[2] directed the special attention of the Government to affairs in the far interior. The Chief himself followed about six months later, and his visit was not without consequences of importance. It is clear from the language he held that he had long previously been on friendly terms with the Dutch[3]. He was received in audience by the Governor and Court of Policy on October 29, 1810,

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* v. p. 189.

[2] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* v. pp. 194, 195.

[3] It is worth while to cite the description of this man given in the British Case in the Arbitration with Brazil (pp. 41, 42) :—

"Manariwan, Manarwan, Manowara, Manarroc, Manerwa, are the different forms in which this Chieftain's name appears in the records of the Colony, and Schomburgk has the form Mahanarva, while Brown has Manarowah. It is clear from the language that he held in *1810* and *1812*, that he had long previously had friendly relations with the Dutch, and that he was acknowledged, at any rate in time of war, as a sort of over-lord of all the tribes living in and around the zone now before the Arbitrator. He was probably the same person as the Maranari who is mentioned in a Portuguese report of *1786* as living 'at the mouth of the Rupununi, allied with two Dutchmen, who live here for the preservation of the Caripuna tribe' and as the Maniwari, who in *1778* was amongst the many Chiefs who came down from the interior and received insignia of office from the Dutch Government."

and it was decided to resume the old Dutch custom of giving annual presents to these Indians. It is interesting to note that the British made it a condition of their friendship that the Indians were to relinquish the custom of making war on other tribes and of selling their prisoners, and that they were to live in peace and look to the Government to redress any wrong done to them. This acceptance of a definite obligation towards the Indians was followed by the expedition of Mr Simon, Mr van Sirtema[1], and Dr John Hancock in November of the same year. Unfortunately only some fragments are preserved[2] of their researches, yet enough to show that they reached the Portuguese frontier and made a rough survey of the whole country east of the Takutu as far as the banks of the Rewa or Quitaro[3], obtaining a good general knowledge of the Indians living in this part of the country. By this Commission the British Government definitely indicated their intention to maintain Dutch rights over this particular area of territory. Those rights had been, more or less, in abeyance during the period of war when the Colony was changing hands. They were now established once more over the whole area to the

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[1] What connection this was of the two brothers Sirtema van Grovestins whose career is set out on p. 281 it is difficult, after this lapse of time, to determine with certainty, but cf. Note 3 on p. 249.

[2] Dr Hancock left a few interesting fragments behind him. In addition to the map reproduced in the Atlas accompanying the British Case in the Brazilian matter his notes on a journey up the river Essequibo, dated *May 18, 1827*, were given in those proceedings. (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* ii. pt. 2.) He published a booklet on the Colony in *1835* and wrote a letter to the Royal Geographical Society on the general question of the boundary in the year *1840*. (*Op. cit.* ii. pt. 2, pp. 5–7.)

[3] Hancock's map is the first which marks Storm's "pyramid."

southward on to the savannahs near the Rio Branco. And in part, doubtless, as a result of this incident, a closer touch was kept with the Indians in all parts of the Colony. Very interesting are the Muster-rolls of 1816 and 1818[1] which enumerate Indian Captains under the jurisdiction of the British, not only right away to the southern frontier, but a long distance up the Massaruni and the Cuyuni, and along the coast rivers Pomeroon, Moruca, Waini, and Barima.

### (ii) *Schomburgk's Explorations and Surveys.*

We may now pass to the most interesting and important series of explorations ever undertaken in British Guiana, and it is noteworthy that they followed very quickly upon the final unification of the old Dutch colonies under one Government.

Robert Schomburgk was first sent out by the Royal Geographical Society as a result of a resolution taken in 1834 to explore the interior of the Colony, this project having in some measure been suggested by Humboldt's journeys, and having, as the Journal of the Society records, received the fullest sanction and patronage of His Majesty's Ministers.

Schomburgk's reports and journals throughout the whole of his explorations form one of the most complete and interesting narratives with which the annals of geography have ever been enriched[2]. He

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. pp. 3–13.

[2] Schomburgk's Reports have never been published in one volume, but almost the whole series will be found in the Appendices to the British Cases in the Venezuelan and Brazil matters—in vol. vii. pts. 1, 2 of the former, in vol. iii. of the latter; this last volume forms the most

was a man with remarkable capacity for observation. He combined great natural genius as a surveyor with the eye of a botanist and the training of a naturalist. His references to the Indian tribes are full of a sympathetic intelligence which renders him, even at this date, one of the best chroniclers of Indian manners and customs.

Schomburgk left Georgetown on September 21, 1835, and proceeded up the Essequibo, beginning the serious ascent of that river on October 31. He followed the line of the old Dutch traders, turned to the west up the Rupununi and halted in November at Annai. From that centre he explored the whole of the Rupununi and the savannahs which surround it, and took the first steps towards exploring the Mahu. He also made his way up the Essequibo proper to the great fall which he named after King William IV, and investigated the paths connecting the Essequibo with the upper reaches of the Demerara river. In the following year (1836) his work was the ascent of the Corentin and the Berbice on the other side of the Colony. His design was to penetrate by one of these rivers to the Sierra Acarai, but in this he failed for the time.

In 1837–8 Schomburgk carried out the design upon which he was mainly bent, and discovered the sources of the Essequibo, where he hoisted the British ensign: he also reached the Acarai Mountains on the watershed between the Essequibo and

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complete collection. Several of his journeys may be found in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. He also published one or two small works on British Guiana. His brother Richard's book on the Colony will be noticed on a subsequent page.

the Amazon. He then proceeded with a journey which took him outside the boundary of the Colony, and had results far beyond those of simple exploration. The object of his expedition, as he puts it himself, was, after examination of the Essequibo sources, to connect his journeys from the east with those of Baron von Humboldt, at Esmeralda on the Upper Orinoco. For the fascinating details of this expedition the reader must be referred to Schomburgk's own reports. One incident only requires particular notice here. On Schomburgk's first visit to the Rupununi and the savannah district in 1835 he had become aware of the desire of the Indians to have a British missionary stationed among them. His representations finally inspired Thomas Youd to carry into execution a project which he had already formed; and now on his second arrival in the district Schomburgk was on the 15th of May 1838 enabled to welcome the new missionary at the little village of Pirara. The explorer's entry in his journal on May 24, 1838, is characteristic and worth quoting:

> "24th. The birth-day of our Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria was duly kept in this remote corner of her Dominions and the British Union waved, for the first time probably, at Pirara. Nor could a naturalist forget that on the same day in 1695 the great Linné was born at the obscure village of Raschult in Sweden."

Youd's arrival at Pirara was the origin of quite an exciting episode. Of recent years the Brazilians had at times taken to moving across from the Rio Branco on to the savannahs east of the Takutu, and they had doubtless come to look upon them as a proper object of their ambition. Not very far from the British frontier

was their fort San Joaquim, which, supported by a few troops, gave them the opportunity of occasional patrols into neighbouring districts. Soon after Schomburgk's back was turned and he had departed on his distant travels to the Orinoco, a Brazilian detachment came to Pirara, turned Youd out, and razed the mission house. When just a year later (May, 1839) Schomburgk returned to the territory which he had left with so much gratification he found nothing but desolation at Pirara and apprehension on the part of all the Indian tribes[1]. It took some time for him to get back to headquarters, and the British Government were not unnaturally slow in taking action which might affect their relations with a friendly power: it was therefore not until 1841 that British troops were sent up to turn the Brazilians out, re-occupy Pirara and reinstate the British mission at that point. The incident is extremely interesting as being the first actual armed occupation of any part of the interior of British Guiana since Storm's re-establishment of the Cuyuni post in 1766.

But even before the re-occupation of Pirara, the incident had led up to the definite appointment of Schomburgk as Commissioner for marking the limits of British Guiana. The representations which, on his return to England in 1839, Schomburgk made as to the needs of the Indians on the savannahs, and to their danger from Brazilian raiders, attracted notice in Parliament; and the British Government decided that steps must be taken to stop further interference

[1] The incident was the subject of a Parliamentary Paper (288 of *1841*) which published an extract from Schomburgk's letter to the Governor of British Guiana, dated *July 15, 1839*.

with the natives and violation of territory which was believed to belong to Great Britain. It was therefore decided to send Schomburgk to make a complete exploration of the boundaries of British Guiana and to mark them provisionally, subject to due notice to neighbouring powers. It was also decided to occupy Pirara as above mentioned and make good our adverse possession against the Brazilians.

The announcement of Schomburgk's appointment to the other Governments interested brought up at once the whole question of boundary, not only on the side of Brazil, but also on that of Venezuela.

The old Spanish régime in and around the Orinoco had come to an end just about the time when the Colonies were taken over by the British Government. For the years immediately following all the energies of the Spaniards were absorbed in the fight between the Royalists and the Republicans. Things began to settle down in 1821, and the new Republic of Colombia began to feel its way as an independent entity about 1826. In 1832 the Republic of Venezuela became a separate Government from that of Colombia and about ten years later had its first Minister in Europe. Possibly the announcement of Schomburgk's appointment as Boundary Commissioner precipitated the appointment of such a Minister, for the first act of Senor Fortique was to propose a Boundary Treaty.

Between April, 1841, and October, 1843, Schomburgk, now accompanied by his brother Richard[1],

[1] It was upon the recommendation of Alexander von Humboldt that Richard Schomburgk was enabled, through the patronage of the

covered practically the whole boundary of British Guiana as it stands at the present day. Beginning at Point Barima and the coast he worked through the country by the Imataca Mountains to the point where the Acarabisi enters the Cuyuni,—then he returned to Georgetown. After a rest he made his way up the Essequibo to Pirara and with this as his headquarters determined the point of junction between the Ireng and the Takutu, traced the latter to its source, and surveyed part of the district between that river and the Rupununi: after a stay of some weeks at Pirara he proceeded to the northward, went up the Cotinga, and made his discovery of the great mountain Roraima[1]. At Roraima he heard much of the difficulties which were to confront him, and ordered most of his expedition back to his headquarters at Pirara: he then himself with a small

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King of Prussia, to join his brother's expedition that set out from London on *Dec. 19, 1840*. Taking no official part in Robert Schomburgk's boundary explorations, Richard, whose sweet and lovable disposition becomes apparent to every reader of his *Reisen in Britisch Guiana, 1840–1844* (Leipzig, *1847–48*, 3 vols.), was an enthusiastic naturalist and it was naught else than his desire to enrich the museums of his country with the spoils of the virgin forests that prompted him to endure the hardships and run the risks entailed in the undertaking. His work, which appeared in a German edition only, is the most compendious we possess on the natural history of British Guiana; its publication cost him enormous sacrifices—two copies only were subscribed for in the whole of the British Empire! (Portions of it appeared in English in the Appendix to the British Case in the Guiana-Brazil Boundary Arbitration and one copy of these extracts has been separately bound for the use of readers in the British Museum.) Schomburgk, being unable to secure a living free from care in his own country, proceeded to Australia in *1849* and was appointed director of the Botanic Gardens at Adelaide in *1866*. He died there *March 24, 1890*, at the age of 80.

[1] The story of this discovery should also be read in the work of Richard Schomburgk (see preceding note).

party traversed the watershed between the waters of the Orinoco on one side and those of the Massaruni and the Cuyuni on the other until he reached the Wenamu. Down that river he went, amid various dangers and difficulties, to its confluence with the Cuyuni, descending the latter till he reached the spot where, on the previous survey, he had worked through the country from Barima Point. He thus, as he put it, "accomplished the whole line from the sources of the Cuyuni to Point Barima on the Atlantic Ocean." A still more difficult task remained to him. After a short rest he worked back to Pirara, and then once more started to the southward with a view to exploring more thoroughly the upper waters of the Essequibo and the watershed between the Essequibo and the Amazon; on this occasion he discovered and made known to geographers the sources of the Trombetas and worked his way through many perils eastward to the sources of the Corentin. Thus he verified the line which he had claimed on paper as the true boundary of British Guiana, and following the Corentin from its sources towards the sea at last, after much hardship, returned to Georgetown in October, 1843.

Some temporary excitement in Venezuela was caused by Schomburgk's survey; but the consequent questions with the Venezuelan and Brazilian Governments were soon quiescent. The negotiations with these Governments came to a premature end without any result, and the reports of Schomburgk's surveys with the fine maps which he produced lay buried for nearly half a century[1].

[1] These original maps, which are preserved in the Colonial Office

### (iii) *The early gold discoveries.*

From a geographical point of view the next five and twenty years were for the most part uneventful. The colonists assumed that Schomburgk had pretty well settled boundary questions, and not being troubled with further claims from Venezuela or Brazil they set themselves to the development of the cultivated districts, where coolie immigration was coming to the aid of the planters and was starting the estates upon a new era of prosperity. Interest in the interior dropped back to a state of stagnation; and once more the only ostensible control of a great part of the Colony was to be found in the administration of the Indian tribes, which, in a quiet, unobtrusive way, was carried out from day to day by the postholders on the rivers, more particularly on the Pomeroon and Moruca, where the Government of British Guiana had about 1830 definitely settled the fugitive Indians from the Spanish possessions[1]. The issue of commissions from time to time to the Captains of the various tribes was a guarantee of the protection of the

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Library, were fully reproduced in the Atlas which accompanied the British Case on the Venezuela question. Copies of this Atlas may now be consulted in the chief National libraries.

[1] The history of this incident is interesting. The Spanish missions in the upper part of the Cuyuni basin and along the Orinoco were practically destroyed about *1817*, and from that year onwards parties of refugee Indians and half-castes, who had been accustomed to depend upon those missions for support, began to seek refuge in the British colony. They settled chiefly in the neighbourhood of the Pomeroon and the Moruca. By *1833* they had become such a large community that a special grant of land was made to a Roman Catholic mission on the Moruca, which henceforth became the centre of their settlement.

British Government, not only in the Moruca and Pomeroon districts but far in the interior[1]. The Indians had little cause for anxiety as to their security, especially as it was notorious to them that Schomburgk, who had thoroughly won their confidence, had been marking a boundary, and that he claimed the land within that boundary as British territory. It is well known that the Indians moved within the Schomburgk line[2], and so did their best to establish a well-understood boundary over which the jurisdiction of the British Government was admitted to run.

Then suddenly the interior was waked from its sleep. In the middle of 1857 the Colony received the first reports of the discovery of gold in what was afterwards well known as the Caratal district[3].

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[1] It is interesting to refer to various records of the issue of Commissions by the British Government to Indian Chiefs (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vii. pp. 247–251). For instance in *January 1855* Governor Wodehouse issued a commission to an Indian chief on the Upper Essequibo, Erijee Manarwa, whose name takes us back with confidence to the great Manarwa whose tribal jurisdiction was centred in Pirara. In *August 1861* a commission was granted to a Warouw Indian who lived in the Barima. In *1862* commissions were granted to Caribs on the Waini and to an Akawoi on the Barama: and so on.

[2] The extent to which the Indians recognised Schomburgk's line as an effective boundary is well brought out in Chap. vii. of the British Case in the Brazilian matter, dealing with the statements and affidavits made by the Indians themselves.

[3] The best extant history of the Caratal Mining District is that embodied in the report by Mr James Henry Reddan, H.M.'s Vice-Consul at Ciudad Bolivar, which was presented to Parliament in *1884* (Cd. 4172 (Comm. No. 38) *1884*, cf. also Cd. 3831 of that year, p. 55).

It was as Vice-Consul at Ciudad Bolivar that Mr Reddan first took an interest in the Venezuela boundary question, to which he afterwards devoted a great portion of his life. Some five years after the date of the report just mentioned he returned to the United Kingdom and during the next ten years was constantly employed on searches of

Rumour was vague, and the Governor applied for instructions as to the action he was to take as regards the boundary: he was directed to assert the right of Great Britain to any land situated within what he understood to be the existing claim, and to enforce his claim by any means in his power. Ere these instructions had arrived there was an outburst of exploration in all the districts of the Colony. At the end of August, 1857, two expeditions left Georgetown in search of gold-fields. One of these, consisting of Dr Shier, a man of some scientific attainment, Mr Shanks, a sworn surveyor, and a Mr Nicholas Cameron, who professed to have an intimate knowledge of the interior of the Colony generally, proceeded to the upper districts of the Demerara and Essequibo, but came to a premature end. The other, under Sir William Holmes and Mr W. H. Campbell, proceeded to the coast near the Waini and then across the Imataca Mountains. Within a short period the local Government decided to commission an expedition of their own, and despatched Mr Shanks by way of the Cuyuni to reconnoitre towards the frontier, and Mr Bratt, a geologist, to connect up with Sir William Holmes' expedition. Another exploration towards the Pacaraima Mountains was projected. The results of these

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importance in connection with the boundary. At Simancas and at Seville he did wonders in turning out documents of extraordinary historical interest from libraries and archives in a state of comparative confusion. The copies he took were afterwards presented by His Majesty's Government to the British Museum, and will be found amongst the Spanish Add. MSS. extant there.

Through fever in Venezuela Mr Reddan practically lost his hearing, and had in consequence to resign his post of Vice-Consul.

expeditions, however, were only of passing geographical interest, and do not call for further notice.

The attempt to carry out mining operations on the Cuyuni in 1865 was in part the result of the expeditions. Its chief interest is that the operations were located almost on the spot where, in 1741, the Dutch miners had first conducted their operations under the inspiration of Storm.

When the momentary excitement was past the interior settled down into its previous peaceful state, and the grip of Great Britain was shown only in the Indian life and in casual settlement. For instance, in 1860 John Bracey, who is described as an intelligent creole, took up his residence at Dar-awow on the left bank of the Rupununi, trading with the Indians and investing in cattle[1]: a few years later a new trader, William de Rooij, came to the same district[2]: then in 1870 one Christy settled in a Macusi village just north of the Canaku mountains[3]. In other parts of the Colony there was less attraction for such isolated settlement.

### (iv) *The Geological Survey of Sawkins and Brown.*

In the years between 1860 and 1870 the British Government made arrangements for a geological survey of certain of the West Indian possessions; and as part of this scheme a geological survey of British Guiana was commenced in November, 1867, by James G. Sawkins and Charles Barrington Brown.

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[1] *Braz. Arb. Brit. Case*, p. 89. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Op. cit.* p. 90.

The general difficulties of the task are described in a preface to their published reports from which it is worth while to quote one brief extract—

> "To penetrate to the utmost limits of the colony it became necessary to make long excursions sometimes of eight months' duration, upon which, owing to the dangerous rapids and cataracts on the rivers, strong boats with crews of river-men had to be employed, and most of the provisions for our maintenance carried with us. At times, on long walking journeys, we had to depend for sustenance on coarse food procured at the Indian villages passed through on the route. Thus it frequently happened that in places where I wished to stop and examine interesting geological areas, I was obliged to hurry forwards for the purpose of obtaining provisions; whilst in other parts, comparatively valueless, I was sometimes detained whilst food was being prepared for us. Oftentimes the task of making out the geology of the country was rendered a hopeless one by the dense forests, through which we travelled for days together, hiding completely the contour of the country, as well as the outcrop of the rocks[1]."

The first report by the surveyors was dated in 1868 and shows that they arrived in the Colony on November 23, 1867, went first to the Pomeroon district and thence surveyed as far as possible the Waini, Barama, and Barima, with the intervening country. The survey was then conducted up the Cuyuni river, and thence across country to the Puruni and on to the Massaruni. Sawkins appears to have accomplished alone a brief reconnaissance of the Demerara river, while Brown made his first exploration up the Essequibo and on to the savannahs around the Rupununi and Ireng or Mahu. This

[1] Brown and Sawkins, *Reports on the Geology of British Guiana, 1875*. Cf. also Brown's *Canoe and Camp Life in British Guiana. 1876.*

brought them to the spring of 1869. Later in the same year they once more set out up the Essequibo to the savannahs, and separating at the junction of the Rewa with the Rupununi divided the further survey between them. Sawkins took the Takutu and Brown the Rewa and Quitaro. After some six weeks they rejoined one another on the day they had appointed, and returned to Georgetown in December 1869. This last journey tired Sawkins severely and within the next six months he retired from the work, leaving Brown to carry out an extraordinarily varied and complete series of explorations and surveys over the whole southern district of the Colony. During 1870 and 1871 he explored first the Siparuni, then the Potaro (where he may be said to have discovered the great Kaieteur Fall) and finally the Ireng and Cotinga, to which he gave special attention. Surveys of the Corentin and the Berbice, and a special survey of the Massaruni, completed a service to geography which was in many ways worthy to rank with that of Schomburgk; and it may indeed be said that these surveys were complementary to that explorer's work. While they had reference to geology rather than to geography, they were of great interest even from the latter point of view. Brown in particular covered an enormous extent of ground towards the sources of the Essequibo and along the Takutu: on the Cotinga and the Ireng he made an exploration much more thorough than any Schomburgk had made, and his results gave important corrections to the geography of this district.

## (v) *The Assertion of British Claims.*

The last twenty years of the nineteenth century saw the boundary of British Guiana finally settled. The journeys of the Dutch traders, the efforts of the postholders under Storm, the explorations and surveys of Schomburgk, the work of Sawkins and Barrington Brown,—in fact all attempts to fix the geography of the Colony found their ultimate result in the decision of two arbitral tribunals. Similarly, the work done by Storm in defence of the rights of the Dutch, the Indian policy initiated by the Dutch and carried out through so many years by the British, and the determination of the British to make good the rights which they inherited from the Dutch,—all found their justification in the decision of those two tribunals.

The early work of im Thurn and McTurk

What may be described as the last chapter in the history begins in the late seventies with certain travels and explorations by British officials of the Colony, chiefly by two men whose names became inseparably connected with the question of the boundary.

In 1878, Everard Ferdinand im Thurn[1], then a young man not long from Oxford, who had been for some little time Curator of the Museum at Georgetown, obtained leave to spend a holiday in the savannah district in the south of the Colony. There

[1] Now Sir E. im Thurn, K.C.M.G. After leaving British Guiana he remained in England for some time in connexion with the British Guiana Boundary and other matters, then became Lieutenant-Governor of Ceylon, and, at the time of writing, is Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of the Western Pacific.

he spent some months amongst the Macusis and the Wapisanas, becoming better acquainted with those Indians than any other European had ever been before him. The book[1] which he published on the subject is a classic of its kind, and though it did not add materially to British knowledge of that part of the Colony, it led to a much more intimate understanding with the natives of the district. It is interesting to find Mr im Thurn remarking[2] that the line laid down by the Boundary Commission under Schomburgk[3] was accepted in that district by both the British and the Brazilians, despite certain vague official claims.

In the same year Michael McTurk, an officer in the service of the Colony, was appointed Special Magistrate and Superintendent of Crown Lands and Forests of Essequibo. He was a remarkable man. Born in Liverpool and going out to the Colony as a child, he had early identified himself with its bush life. Within a very few years of his appointment as Magistrate he had become as inured to the life of the forests as the Indians themselves. Possessing the full confidence of the natives, a daring leader capable of taking any risk and of undergoing any privation, McTurk was a man marked for the performance of the exceptional duties assigned to him. He had become, in fact, a sort of official explorer of the Colony, and it might be safely stated that in scarcely a single year since 1878 has he failed to add something to the

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[1] *Among the Indians of Guiana.*

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 39, 40.

[3] See pp. 115–117.

knowledge of Essequibo possessed by the British Government[1].

Expeditions were made by Mr McTurk with Mr J. W. Boddam Whetham in 1878 and by Mr Henry Whitely in 1883 in the forest zones round the Pacaraima Mountains with a view to the ascent of Roraima; each had their interest, but the successful undertaking was reserved to Mr im Thurn and Mr Harry Innes Perkins in 1884. Up to that year Roraima had been considered inaccessible: im Thurn performed the feat of ascending the great sandstone cliff and exploring the whole of the flat top[2]. Roraima stands at the junction of three States and, technically, it belongs to all three —Britain, Venezuela, and Brazil—but in fact it is essentially a British mountain, discovered by the British, ascended by the British, and reported on only by British authorities.

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[1] Mr McTurk held his arduous office as Commissioner for Essequibo up to the year *1910*, when he retired on pension.

[2] For this ascent see *Proceedings of the Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. vii. (*1880*) p. 497 *sqq.* also *Timehri*, vol. iv. p. 1. The first attempt to accomplish the ascent of Roraima seems to have been that made in *1878* by McTurk, who was accompanied by Boddam Whetham (see the latter's book *Roraima*, p. 134). A little later the task was essayed by C. F. Appun (*Unter den Tropen*, II. cap. iv.). In *August, 1883*, a naturalist, Henry Whitely, who had been making a prolonged stay in the interior of British Guiana, got far enough up to see the sloping ledge by which im Thurn did eventually ascend (*Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. vi. (*1884*) p. 452). One M. F. Dressel seems to have been the first to follow in im Thurn's footsteps and made the complete ascent on *14 Oct. 1886*: E. Cromer followed a month later (*Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.* vol. x. (*1888*) p. 166). The ascent was repeated by Cromer and Seyler, collecting orchids, in *Nov. 1891* (*Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.* iv. (*1892*) p. 242) and in *1895* by J. J. Quelch (*Timehri*, vol. ix., *1895*). More recently Mr C. W. Anderson, I.S.O., as boundary commissioner, ascended by the same path and placed a boundary mark on the mountain.

This expedition of im Thurn's may be looked upon as the last effort of exploration for its own sake in British Guiana. In the same year incidents took place which brought the boundary question definitely to the fore and made it impossible to view any subsequent exploration apart from the question of claim to a particular boundary.

Frontier incidents

In 1881 the Venezuelan Government granted to General Venancio Pulgar a concession which purported to cover a considerable portion of what was considered by the British their Colony of Guiana. In the course of 1883–4 another concession was granted by the same Government to an American citizen, Cyrenius C. Fitzgerald. This last included a good part of the Barima district—a tract of land which Venezuela treated as falling within the great delta of the Orinoco. In 1884 a further concession was granted to one Herbert Gordon. Taken together, these concessions covered practically the whole of the Essequibo county. It is, perhaps, improbable that the British Government would have taken any vigorous action upon these paper claims had it not been that the second of the concessions above mentioned was assigned to a Company, named the Manoa Company[1], which proceeded to practical steps for developing the concession and brought matters to a crisis by sending its agent on to territory eastward of the Amacura river. The affairs of British Guiana were at that time in the hands of the energetic Governor Sir H. Irving, who

[1] It is interesting and not unnatural to find this Company taking the name which was so closely associated with the early searches for El Dorado.

immediately despatched Mr McTurk, then acting as Special Magistrate for the Pomeroon District, to the scene of encroachment. On receipt of McTurk's report[1] the Governor lost no time in taking steps to station a revenue schooner and a small body of police at the mouths of the Amacura, Barima and Waini; and then came an incident which repeated the story of van Rosen[2] and the action taken by Storm. Under the orders of the Governor McTurk arranged to visit the district at intervals, and to take care that British jurisdiction was respected. Towards the end of 1884 he received complaints that one Robert Wells, an agent of the Manoa Company, had been hanging up a man head downwards in order to force him to work[3]. McTurk promptly arrested Wells and brought him down to Georgetown, where he was tried before the ordinary Court and punished for an offence committed on British soil.

Declaration of British rights

Two results of importance followed in the course of 1886 from this incident. One was the final declaration by the British Government of the Schomburgk line as the definitive boundary of the Colony: the other was the decision to organise, as the "North Western District" of the Colony, the coast region between the Pomeroon and Demerara, where there were already a number of occasional, if irregular, settlements by British subjects. Such decided action by Great Britain led to the suspension of diplomatic relations with Venezuela in the early part of 1887[4].

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vi. pp. 226–228. [2] See p. 504.

[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vi. p. 232.

[4] The President of Venezuela who broke off relations with Great

In the course of that year rumours of gold discoveries along the boundary, combined with the publication of another Venezuelan concession over territory which Great Britain claimed, led the local Government to issue their Proclamation of December 31, 1887, which specifically reserved British rights over the most extended boundary which had ever been claimed by the Dutch, i.e. the whole basin of the Cuyuni river and its tributaries, including the area occupied by the Spanish missions which had been such a thorn in Storm's side.

While events were moving thus rapidly on the North Western frontier it came to the notice of Her late Majesty's Government in the latter part of 1887 that a Boundary Commission appointed by the Brazilian and Venezuelan Governments had issued a report to the Brazilian Congress in which it claimed to have entered the southern districts of the Colony and to have drawn a boundary line right across territory claimed by Great Britain. The Colonial Government were directed to send off an expedition which should cover the whole ground and ascertain the truth of the report. The service was entrusted to Mr im Thurn, who, before setting out for the scene of operations, gave strong reasons for doubting whether any Brazilians had ever come into the neighbourhood. im Thurn spent the earlier part

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Britain was one of the most notorious men who have hitherto figured in South American politics. Guzman Blanco for many years terrorised Venezuela and its inhabitants and made himself practically a dictator. He is generally believed to have made a large fortune which was invested mainly in Europe. He married his daughter to the Duc de Morny, and when at last he left Venezuela amid the execrations of the population, he settled in Paris to end his days.

of 1888 on a journey to the south and back, and he affirmed with confidence that no Brazilian or Venezuelan had actually been within the Colony. He had been to Quimata on the Rupununi, where John Bracey was now settled[1]; then he had gone to Annai and across the hills to Roraima, enquiring of every Indian he met. He pointed out that as the few Indian tracks from one of their remote villages to another were absolutely the only means of traversing the country, it was quite impossible that any Brazilian-Venezuelan Commission, or any party of foreigners or white men could, unknown to the Indians, traverse the district; and he came to the conclusion that the Commission, if it had ever been near the territory, had at any rate only theoretically infringed British rights by drawing a line on a map from Mount Annai to Mount Roraima. The incident had little permanent significance, but it is illustrative of the manner in which by this time the British Government were safeguarding their claims.

### (vi) *The Progress of Administration.*

Once roused to a sense of their responsibility, the Colonial Government permitted nothing to interfere with the due administration of the North Western District. At Tapacooma, Pickersgill and Baramanni, at Barima Sand and on the Amacura, police stations were built in the course of 1887 and 1888. At Morawhana, which commanded the waterways of the district, a considerable village was brought into being, and made the chief town of this

[1] Cf. p. 121, and *Braz. Arb. Brit. Case*, pp. 89 and 96.

part of the country. The discovery of gold in the middle of the Barima district gave a great impulse to development; and when, in 1891, Mr im Thurn's position was elevated to that of Government Agent, the whole area between the Amacura and the Moruca had been settled and policed in a manner which reflected credit on British administration.

The Venezuelans on their part had pushed up their outposts to the west bank of the Amacura river, so that British and Venezuelans were now face to face on the boundary at this point.

There is a record of steady progress during the next few years; the gold industry gave signs of a great promise; and apart from minerals, the Government Agent was enthusiastic as to the future of agriculture and forestry in his district. He could write in 1891 that the land in the North Western District offered unusually fair prospects of success to the numerous class of young men of some education, and already acclimatised, who are always tacitly or openly asking that employment should be found for them in the Colony. The same story was embodied in the reports of the following few years.

In the Essequibo river district, which was under the charge of Mr McTurk, the story of development was less precise. This district covered an enormous area, including the main streams of the Essequibo, the Massaruni, and the Cuyuni; it stretched southward to the confines of Brazil and westward to the point where Venezuelan settlements were being advanced right down to the bank of the Cuyuni. The supervision of this great district was in the nature of things intermittent: Mr McTurk had to

report upon general production, upon the prospects of mining, on the quarrying, timber, and ballata industries. Here and there, particularly on the Massaruni and Potaro, mining settlements were growing up, and by degrees British colonists were making a home and breeding cattle on the savannahs beyond the Rupununi.

In 1891 the Lieutenant-Governor and certain chief officers of the Colonial Government, who were constituted into a Commission for the opening up of the country, made a journey to various of the mining centres on the above-mentioned rivers. Certain old roads were opened and rest-houses were erected, and efforts were made to police the mining districts and impress upon the residents the authority of the Government. Before the close of the year the attitude of the Venezuelans on the Upper Cuyuni made it necessary to establish a Government station at Uruan. Such a station had been for some time discussed, but the Colonial Government had not been too anxious to place one a long distance from headquarters, where it was very expensive to maintain. However in this one year McTurk had been obliged to make four journeys to and from the Upper Cuyuni in connexion with disputes concerning the boundary, and finally arranged that a police station should be built opposite to the mouth of the Uruan river, the principal tributary of the Cuyuni and the highway from the mining district of the Yuruari to the last-mentioned river. Accordingly on this spot in June, 1892, the Venezuelan and British stations were facing one another, far away on the Cuyuni, just as they were nearer home on the Amacura. To use a

legal phrase, the issue may now be said to have been joined. Along all the western boundary of the territory which Storm had administered—covering practically the line which he would himself have claimed—the British, as successors to the Dutch, were holding adverse possession of the old Colony of Essequibo. It was almost inevitable that in these circumstances some final settlement should be precipitated.

### (vii) *The Venezuelan Arbitration.*

Early in 1895 a collision took place between the British police and the Venezuelan soldiers at Uruan. Quite suddenly and without provocation a small force of Venezuelans came across the river and seized the British Police Station, which was surrendered by the Inspector in charge, of course under protest and through *force majeure*. This news was received at Georgetown amid much excitement in February 1895, and Mr McTurk at once set off with a strong force of police, who were instructed to take over the station from the Venezuelan Commandant. This journey to Uruan, says Mr McTurk, was "the quickest on record[1]." It occupied a little over thirteen days. The British station was handed over without further incident, but for the next few months there was considerable uneasiness at headquarters, and the magistrate's patrols were varied by what amounted to a military reconnaissance. In the course of the summer of 1895 the Inspector-General of Police, with an officer of the Royal

[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vii. p. 335.

Engineers, and a special escort, went over the ground with a view to preparing for emergencies in case an expedition was required to the frontier.

But the final explosion came from an unexpected quarter. The Venezuelan Government had got the ear of the Government of the United States of America. On December 18, 1895, President Cleveland issued the celebrated Message in which he practically called upon Great Britain to submit the whole question to arbitration. Such a breach of ordinary diplomatic routine took the whole world by storm. For a few days two great nations were on the verge of a war; then wiser counsels prevailed, and in the early part of 1896 the British Government consented. Doubtless posterity will applaud their action. Over and over again they had declined to go to arbitration over claims which seemed so incontestable. To change their attitude now required much moral courage.

The United States Government continued to act on behalf of the Venezuelans, and, though negotiations proceeded somewhat slowly, the treaty providing for arbitration was finally signed on February 2, 1897. The Venezuelan Government placed their case in the hands of American jurists, and each side prepared case, counter case, and argument in which the history of two centuries was laid under contribution. After more than two years of this preliminary argument on paper, the Tribunal constituted by the treaty met in Paris in the summer of 1899. It was composed of two Judges of the High Court of the United Kingdom, two of the Supreme Court of the United States, and a dis-

tinguished President in the person of the Russian jurist de Martens. After three months a judgment was given by the Tribunal[1], which in effect sustained the whole claim of Great Britain to the Schomburgk line. The only material divergence from the line claimed by Sir Robert Schomburgk was at the mouth of the Barima. Here the Tribunal, apparently influenced by the arguments of American counsel on the ground of national safety, decided that the British boundary began at a point some distance eastward from Point Barima, and so gave to Venezuela the mouths of both the Amacura and the Barima.

Thus by the Award of Paris of 1899 the western boundary of the Colony was finally settled, and the line accepted by the Tribunal was a line which would have fairly satisfied the claims made by the old Director-General Storm some 140 years before.

### (viii) *The Brazilian Arbitration.*

Meanwhile there had been some unrest on the Brazilian frontier to the south and south-west of the Colony. In the middle of 1896 information reached the Governor of British Guiana that Brazilians had established cattle ranches on the east bank of the Takutu river, and that the Brazilian Government were attempting to tax them as though they were on Brazilian soil. On reporting this to the home authorities the Governor of the Colony was directed to take an early opportunity of sending up to the district to investigate the facts. It was not, however, till a year later, on the report of further

[1] The Award will be found in Parl. Paper Cd. 9533 of *1899*.

encroachments, that Mr McTurk could be spared for such a mission. Towards the end of 1897 McTurk started for the Rupununi and commenced a thorough examination of the district between that river and the Takutu; he found serious encroachments by Brazilians and decided to appoint a post-holder for the district, with rural constables to support his authority, and a flag to be used on occasion. The newly appointed officials were over-zealous and gave offence to Brazil, so that it was thought desirable to revoke their appointments, which had in fact exceeded the Governor's instructions: this was the occasion of another journey into the district by Mr McTurk, whose remarkable energy on this occasion, as in the case of the Cuyuni a few years previously, made a record for time and pace on the journey. Unfortunately this act of comity only encouraged local encroachment on the part of Brazil; complaints became aggravated; quarrels between rival ranchers claimed once more the intervention of the British magistrate, and by 1900 matters were coming to a pass where a definite settlement was imperative.

Negotiations for an arrangement which had for several years been intermittent had already been resumed early in 1899, and they were actively prosecuted as soon as the Paris award in the Venezuelan matter had cleared the ground of that question. Eventually in the course of 1901 Senhor Nabuco, as plenipotentiary for Brazil, and the British Foreign Office arrived at bases of negotiation which resulted in a treaty of arbitration, signed on November 6, 1901. By this treaty the two Govern-

ments agreed to limit their claims by a definite zone, and to submit the question of boundary to the decision of the King of Italy. The zone finally accepted lay between a line formed by the courses of the Cotinga and Takutu on the west and a line formed by those of the Ireng or Mahu and the Rupununi on the east. In the centre of the zone was Pirara on Lake Amucu, the site of the fabulous sea of Parima, and the path of the traders first mapped by Horstman[1]. It of course included the whole of the area which had been the subject of the recent encroachment and dispute.

This arbitration was conducted entirely by written case and argument. The documents submitted on each side were even more complete than those on which the arguments in the Venezuelan matter had been based[2]; they form a most valuable contribution to the history and geography of the Colony. The King of Italy decided that it was unnecessary to hear oral evidence. His Majesty gave his award in June 1904[3], and this award may also be claimed as a considerable triumph for Schomburgk's line. Although the river Cotinga was awarded to Brazil, still the Mahu and Takutu were made the boundaries of Brazilian territory, and in this way Great Britain preserved both her rights to the savannah country beyond the Rupununi, which had been dominated since the 16th century by the Dutch and British, and also her suzerainty over the Wapisana and Macusi Indians who had for

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[1] See pp. 167–174. [2] See p. 5.
[3] See Parl. Paper Cd. 2166 of *1904*.

years relied on the protection of the above-named nations.

### (ix) *Delimitation.*

The last chapter in this phase of the history is the story of the formal delimitation of the boundaries which the tribunals had settled.

The Colony was fortunate in having at its head at this moment a man who was peculiarly suited to direct and supervise the work of delimitation. Sir J. Alexander Swettenham[1] selected as Commissioners for the delimitation of the boundary with Venezuela Mr McTurk, Captain Baker, Dr Widdup and Mr Perkins, with two Government surveyors, Mr Charles Wilgress Anderson and Mr J. A. P. Bowhill. The Venezuelan Commissioners were Señor F. Agueverre and Señor Tirado with four assistants. The reports of the British Commissioners were laid before the Court of Policy. They are of the greatest geographical interest and give a good idea of the difficulties which the surveyors and Commissioners had to face. The work of the

[1] Reference will also be found to Sir J. A. Swettenham on p. 147. A good Dutch scholar, he had been interested in the question of the boundary at the time of the rupture of diplomatic relations with Venezuela in *1887*. He was sent, at his own suggestion, to The Hague in the course of that year, and it was on that occasion that General Netscher met him in the Archives. He was the first man who called the attention of the British Government to the work done by Storm as Director-General of Essequibo, and is entitled to the credit of having given the first impulse to proper historical enquiry into the British rights. While Governor of British Guiana he himself made the fatiguing journey up the rivers which Storm and Trotz had merely contemplated. He was, therefore, the first Governor of the Colony who ever found his way to the distant boundary on the savannahs.

Commissioners began on September 12, 1901, that is to say, about two years after the award by the Paris tribunal. They first proceeded to fix Point Playa and then to survey the northern section of the line along the Barima district to the Akarabisi Creek: the first report is dated May 28, 1902. In the following year Mr Perkins, almost alone, carried out the survey of the middle section of the frontier from the Akarabisi Creek up the Cuyuni and then up the Wenamu, penetrating into the heart of the country. The hardships of this survey fell chiefly upon the British Commissioners. The work occupied several months of 1903, and the second report of the Commissioners was dated August 27, 1903. The heaviest piece of work, however, still remained to be done. For the section of the line which ran over the watershed from the source of the Wenamu to Roraima, Mr Perkins was chosen as Chief Commissioner, and Señor Tirado officiated on behalf of the Venezuelans. It was necessary first of all to wait for weather favourable for survey work in the interior, and it was not until September 12, 1904, that the Commissioners were able to leave Bartica. The main work of this survey fell upon Mr Perkins[1] and Mr Anderson, whose report added considerably to our knowledge of this part of British Guiana. Not the least interesting piece of work which was done by this Commission was the ascent of Mount Roraima, which was accomplished first by way of reconnaissance and then, four days afterwards, by the two Commissioners.

[1] Mr Perkins, shortly after completing the arduous work of delimitation, for which he received the honour of I.S.O., was appointed to British Honduras as Surveyor-General.

Thus by the beginning of 1905 there had been a complete delimitation of the Venezuelan portion of the boundary.

Meanwhile, as we have already seen, the King of Italy had given his award in the Brazilian matter, and there was no further obstacle to the delimitation of that part of the boundary of British Guiana which divides it from Brazilian territory. This service was entrusted to Mr Anderson, the surveyor who has already been mentioned, and appears to have been in no respect less difficult than the survey of the watershed portion of the Venezuelan boundary.

Mr Anderson started up the Potaro on January 25, 1906, to strike the source of the Ireng. He traced this source to Mount Yakontipu. He connected up the boundary at that point with the Venezuelan boundary at Mount Roraima, and later, returning to the southward, made his way to the Rupununi, and so up the Rupununi towards the district where it approaches the Takutu. He crossed to the Takutu and ascended that river to its source, where it was necessary to place a boundary mark as well as to fix the exact position of the point. The whole report of this service forms an interesting piece of exploration work, which shows a due appreciation of the earlier work of Schomburgk and others. The work occupied the greater part of the year. The Commissioner did not return to Georgetown until the autumn, and his report was dated in November 1906[1].

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[1] The prints of all these reports of delimitation are included amongst the papers laid before the Court of Policy in British Guiana, but are not at present generally accessible or easy to obtain.

So, by the end of 1906, British Guiana for the first time had its boundaries fixed, and though those boundaries almost certainly did not go so far as Dutch influence at one time extended, still they included most of the territory for which STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE had always contended, and they justified in a marked degree the line drawn by Sir Robert Schomburgk as a result of his official surveys.

# ADDITIONAL NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

## I

## THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

(i) *The Charters.* The Chartered West India Company of the Netherlands was first projected in 1607. The Twelve Years Truce of 1609 delayed its incorporation but did not entirely bar its operations. It received its first charter in 1621[1]: the term assigned was 24 years, and in 1647—two years having been lost in futile efforts to effect a combine with the East India Company—the charter was renewed, with but little variation, for a quarter of a century.

The constitution of the governing body or directorate was based on a division of the shareholders into five Chambers; four-ninths of the combined interest was represented by the Amsterdam Chamber, two-ninths by that of Zeeland, one-ninth by that of the Maas or Rotterdam, one-ninth by that of the Northern Quarter and one-ninth by that of "Stad en Landen."

The leading shareholders of each of these Chambers—that is to say those who held a certain fixed minimum interest—elected a number of directors who managed the affairs of the Chamber and were generally referred to as the Chamber itself. Out of these directors again a smaller

[1] Cf. also p. 154.

Council was chosen to carry on the executive functions of the Company—eight for the Amsterdam Chamber, four for that of Zeeland and two for each of the other three—with one selected by the States-General, who had the power to appoint more if they so wished. This Executive Committee was the Assembly of Nineteen ("The XIX") to which reference is so frequently made in the Company's proceedings.

In 1675 a new charter (granted to a new West India Company which took over the rights and liabilities of the old one) specially named "the places Isekepe (Essequibo) and Bauwmerona (Pomeroon)" as within the sphere of the Company's monopolies and provided for an alteration in the Executive of the Company by reducing the numbers of the Council to one half, so that Amsterdam thenceforward supplied four, Zeeland two and each of the others one; these, with the director appointed by the States-General, formed the Assembly of Ten ("The X"). In 1700, and from time to time thereafter, this Charter was renewed, and it was "The X" that Storm van 's Gravesande's occasional appeals to the Stadholder, the Prince of Orange, were doubtless designed to influence through the States-General representative, especially concerning matters in which the Zeeland Chamber was difficult to move. In 1791 the rule of the West India Company came to an end and the administration of the colonies of Demerara and Essequibo was entrusted to a Council appointed by the Government.

(ii) *The Dispute.* In 1632 the Assembly of Nineteen, seeing that Essequibo had made but little progress since its settlement, proposed its abandonment, but the Zeeland Chamber opposed this and resolved to continue at its own cost the upkeep of the colony. In 1657, however, being found too heavy a charge, Essequibo was given up by the Chamber to the patronage of the three towns, Middelburg,

Flushing and Veere (cf. Add. Note on pp. 154–159), was in turn handed over by them to the States of Zeeland in 1669 and restored to the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company in 1670. This final arrangement, dated April 11, 1670, was regarded by the Company (re-constructed in 1675) as annulled by virtue of its new Charter and so originated a dispute of a century's duration as to whether the Zeeland Chamber or the Assembly of Ten (then representing the whole West India Company as "The XIX" did the old Company) had predominant rights—the question whether all Netherlanders or only Zeelanders were to enjoy the privilege of trading with the Colony being the actual bone of contention.

Now it often happened (see pp. 160–162) that there were intervals of many months between the arrivals in the Colony of vessels belonging to the Company, and on Aug. 11, 1750, "The X" resolved to invite all the Chambers to encourage private trade with Essequibo. The States of Zeeland answered this by a resolution of Sept. 11, 1750, "that no vessels, sailing from Netherland ports, unprovided with permits issued by the Zeeland Chamber shall be admitted to Essequibo and the rivers thereunto belonging."

An enormous quantity of ink was wasted upon this dispute, which dragged wearily on until the States-General finally resolved on Aug. 17, 1770, to invite His Serene Highness the Hereditary Stadholder to arbitrate in the matter. The decision was against the Zeelanders in principle, for His Highness declared that every inhabitant of the Republic might trade with the colony of Essequibo and Demerara free and unhindered, but that—and here the Prince's advisers recognised the priority of Zeeland and the reasonableness if not the actual legality of its claims—the various Chambers of the West India Company might not grant permits for such trade until the Zeeland Chamber

had in the spring of each year despatched sixteen vessels to those rivers.

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In December, 1769, Storm writes:—"Is this dispute concerning the Colony never coming to an end? Must I, old and worn out, still suffer by it?" (See p. 626.)

And a few months later he writes:—"What have I personally to do with the dispute between the respective Chambers?...Will these differences concerning the free navigation never be decided or ended *quovis modo*? Must I then never be discharged? Having served fully thirty-two years must I be kept at work against my will and in spite of my incapacity to perform it?" March, 1770. (See p. 628.)

## II

## THE FOUNDATION OF ESSEQUIBO

There is no point in the history of Guiana which it would be more interesting to settle than the exact date of the first Dutch settlement in Essequibo and of the founding of Fort Kijkoveral. It would seem hopeless after the time which has been expended on it to lift the veil which the past has dropped over the episode. In this note we shall be content to indicate the chief material in the controversy.

In an *Account of Guiana* written by Major John Scott not earlier than 1669[1] the following passage occurs:—

> "The sixth Colonie was undertaken by one Capt. Gromweagle, a Dutchman, that had served the Spaniard in Oranoque; but understanding a companie of merchants of Zealand had before undertaken a voyage to Guiana, and attempted a settlement there, he deserted the Spanish service, and tendred himselfe to his owne countrey, which was excepted, and he dispatched frō Zealand, anno 1616, with two ships and a galliote, and was the first man that tooke firme footeing on Guiana by the good likeing of the natives, whose humours the gent. perfectly understood. He erect a fort on a smal island 30 leagues up the River Disseekeeb, which looked into two great braches of that famous river. All his time the Colonie flourished; he managed a great trade with the Spaniards by the Indians with great secrecy; he was a great freind of all new Colonies of Christians, of what nacion soever, and Barbados oweth its first assistance both for foode and trade to this mans speciall kindness, anno 1627, at what time they were in a miserable condition. He dyed anno 1664, and in the 83rd yeare of his age; a welthy man, haveing been Governor of that Colonie Forty 8 yeares. In this Colonie the authour had the good fortune to meet with

[1] Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., No. 3662. Reproduced in *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. pp. 167–171.

some injenious observacions of the former Governor of what had been transacted in Guiana in his time, to whome the word [*sic*] is obliged for many particulars of this story."

The reference to "Gromweagle's" command or presence in Essequibo at so early a period is practically uncorroborated. Netscher[1] rejected the story with a measure of contempt, and Professor George L. Burr[2], of Cornell University, U.S.A., following Netscher, attacked Scott's general credibility as a witness. The Rev. George Edmundson, on the other hand, in a clever and convincing argument in the *English Historical Review* (Jan. 1904), shows that Scott in many points is remarkably accurate and that it is unsafe to reject his evidence on this point purely because all direct corroboration is lost. A similar conclusion was previously reached by that acute critic, Sir J. A. Swettenham[3], to whom Netscher refers in the second note to his book.

One thing, at any rate, is certain:—Scott's "Gromweagle" cannot but be identical with the Commander of Essequibo, styled "Groenewegen" in the records, whose death in 1664 is vouched by those records. This man could not have been Commander on behalf of the West India Company prior to 1621, because the Company did not then exist. As a matter of fact, he seems to have become Commander in 1644, as will be seen from an attentive comparison of the data which have been collected from authentic official records and are here embodied in a more complete form than in any previous examination of this question.

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[1] *Geschiedenis van de Koloniën Essequibo, Demerary en Berbice* (pp. 42, 43).

[2] Report of the U.S. Commission on Venezuela Boundary, *1896–97*. Vols. 1, 2.

[3] Sir J. A. Swettenham did not publish anything on the point but gave his views to one of the editors in a letter from The Hague in *Oct. 1897*.

(*a*) 1626. 10 Decemb. "...Resolved, to allow Jacob Canijn to come home from Isekepe...and to fill up his place with another[1]."

(*b*) 17 Decemb. "Johannes Beverlander is...to lie in the river of Isekepe along with Jan Adriaenss van der Goes[2]."

(*c*) 1627. 23 Aug. "...Resolved, to raise the wages of Jan van der Goes in Isequebe after his first three years....As soon as possible we shall send him 30 men and cause a fort to be made[3]."

(*d*) 4 Oct. "The sloop...to be left in Isequepe to van der Goes[4]."

(*e*) 1632. 5 April. "That Jan Adriaenss van der Goes be given some money on account of his monthly salary[5]."

(*f*) 8 April. "After speaking with van der Goes it was resolved not to abandon the colony at Isekepe[6]."

(*g*) 10 May. "Resolved, to pay Jan van der Goes his due and to keep him at hand until Beverlander returns from Isekepe in order then to negotiate with him about sending him again to that river[7]."

(*h*) 9 Aug. "Jan van der Goes shall be employed by the Company on the river of Isekepe[8]."

(*j*) 1634. 2 Nov. "Whilst we were lying here (the river of Timmerarie [Demerara]) Jan van der Goes came with a canoe from the river of Isekebie, where he was commander for the West India Company[9]."

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[1] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 62. [2] *Ib.* p. 63.
[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 63, 64.
[4] *Resolutie Boek, Kamer Zeeland* (Rijksarchief, Hague), vol. 478.
[5] *Op. cit.* vol. 479. [6] *Ib.* [7] *Ib.* [8] *Ib.*
[9] This is not, strictly speaking, an official record, but an extract from the Journal of a voyage performed by David Pietersz. de Vries in *1634* and published in *1655*. de Vries was "Ordnance-Master" to the States of West Friesland and is regarded as an unimpeachable witness. Netscher (*Op. cit.* pp. 65–67) gives an admirable précis of the work; the above extract is from a translation made by H. C. Murphy, the United States Minister to the Netherlands, in *1853*.

(*k*) 1637. 11 May. "To review the letters of Jan van der Goes and to extract therefrom a list of all the necessaries he asks for[1]."

(*l*) 14 May. "Adriaen van de Woestijne, late cadet at the Castle of Argijn...and taken to Isikepe by Jan van der Goes as assistant[2]."

(*m*) 14 May. "...Two kegs of syrup...arrived from Isekepe from Jan van der Goes[3]."

(*n*) 17 Aug. "Whereas Jan van der Goes had written from Isekepe that it was his intention to come home by the first ship with all his people it was agreed to send thither in the place of the said van der Goes by the ship De Jager Cornelis Pietersz Hose[4]."

(*o*) 1638. 26 July. "Jan van der Goes, admitted to the Chamber, said that he greatly desired to know about the river Oronocque[5]."

(*p*) 1639. 7 Feb. "...A committee to enter into closer conference and negotiation with Jan van der Goes concerning his secret projects[6]."

(*q*) 21 Feb. "Jan van der Goes to go in search of silver mines in Orinoco and in case of non-success to remain in Isekepe in place of Cornelis Hose[7]."

(*r*) 1640. 23 July. "Jan van der Goes, admitted to the Chamber, delivers up his journal and other documents...also some minerals[8]."

(*s*) 2 Aug. "The journals of Commander van der Goes to be examined[9]."

(*t*) 10 Sept. "Jan van der Goes allowed a sum on account of his wages[10]."

(*u*) 20 Dec. "Negotiations with Jan van der Goes concerning his wages[11]."

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[1] *Resolutie Boek, Kamer Zeeland* (Rijksarchief, Hague), vol. 481.
[2] *Ib.* [3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vol. i. p. 75.
[4] *Resolutie Boek, Kamer Zeeland* (Rijksarchief, Hague), vol. 481.
[5] *Ib.* [6] *Ib.* [7] *Ib.*
[8] *Op. cit.* vol. 482. [9] *Ib.* [10] *Ib.* [11] *Ib.*

So far we have only one official mention of a Commander and it is doubtful whether Netscher[1] was justified in treating Canijn as well as van der Goes as such. These men, however, clearly were the Company's chief men during the period from 1626 to 1640, and de Vries, too, in 1634 specifically names van der Goes as "commander." Jan van der Goes disappears from the records after 1640 and Netscher[2] would have that C. P. Hose was succeeded as Commander in December, 1641, by Adriaen van de Woestijne, but our next extract refutes that. We have found no official record of the date of Hose's death or retirement and Netscher quotes none; the "Adriaen Janss" of the next extract, may therefore have been appointed as late as 1643.

(*v*) 1644. 5 May. "Read, the following letters: One to Adriaen Janss, Commander, and Adriaen van de Woestijne, clerk, at Fort Kijkoveral[3]."

(*w*) 1645. 9 Mar. "...letter from Aert Adriaensen, of Scherpenisse, Commander at Fort Kijkoveral[4]."

Now, if a letter was addressed (*in those days*) to "Adriaen Janss," a new employee, in May, and a letter was received in the following March from "Aert Adriaensen" (*from* or *of* Scherpenisse, a town in Zeeland), *both bearing the same title of "Commander at Fort Kijkoveral,"* the presumption is that the two are identical[5].

We now have a gap of twelve years in the records, accounted for by the fact that the Minutes of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company from 1646 to 1657 are missing (see Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 69).

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[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 61 and 328.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 69 and 328.
[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 130.
[4] *Op. cit.* i. p. 131.
[5] The pronunciation of the two names is more similar than it appears.

(*x*) 1657. 24 Dec. "Read, a letter from Cornelis Goliat, offering his services....Resolved, that he shall be employed as Commissary...also as commander of the 25 soldiers to be sent[1]."

(*y*) 1658. 10 Jan. "Our Commander in Isekepe, Aert Adriaensen[2]."

(*z*) 24 Jan. "Read, the drafted instructions[3] for Aert Adriaensen, as Director, and Cornelis Goliat, as Commissary on the mainland Wild Coast[4]."

(*aa*) 11 July. "Read, a letter from Aert Adriaenssen Groennewegels from Isequepe dated 24 Feb. of this year[5]."

(*bb*) 19 Aug. "Read, a letter from Aerts Adriaensen and Cornelis Goliat dated from Nova Zeelandia on 18 June, 1658[6]."

(*cc*) 1659. 2 Jan. "Read, a letter from the Commander Aert Adriansen Groenwegen and the Commissary Goliat, dated from New Middelburg 15 Sep. 1658[7]."

(*dd*) 1660. 20 Aug. "...To the director Aert Adriensen such letters as are to be found in the copy-book[8]."

(*ee*) 1663. 3 Mar. The Commander in Pomeroon (J. de Fijn) mentions four times "Groenwegel" as one formerly in authority—"den gewesen directeur[9]."

(*ff*) 1671. 9 Mar. "...the salary earned and deserved by Aert Adriaenssen Groenewegen as Commander in Essequibo from 6 Nov. 1650 to 19 Aug. 1664, date of his death[10]."

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[1] *Op. cit.* i. p. 145.

[2] *Resolutie Boek, Kamer Zeeland* (Rijksarchief, Hague), vol. 486.

[3] The above-mentioned instructions were drafted not because Adriaensen's appointment was, like Goliat's, a new one, but because the management of the colony had in *1657* been given to a committee governing it on behalf of Middelburg, Flushing and Veere.

[4] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 146.

[5] *Resolutie Boek, Kamer Zeeland* (Rijksarchief, Hague), vol. 486.

[6] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 146.

[7] *Op. cit.* i. p. 148.

[8] *Resolutien rakende Isekepe* (Rijksarchief, Hague), vol. 570.

[9] *Ven. Arb. Brit. Counter-Case App.* pp. 34–42.

[10] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 172.

From the above we deduce that

Adriaen Janss mentioned (extract *v*) in 1644,
Aert Adriaensen [of Scherpenisse] mentioned (extract *w*) in 1645,
Aert Adriaensen mentioned (extracts *y* and *z*) in 1658 (Jan.),
Aert Adriaenssen Groennewegels mentioned (extract *aa*) in 1658 (Feb.),
Aerts Adriaensen mentioned (extract *bb*) in 1658 (Aug.),
Aert Adriansen Groenwegen mentioned (extract *cc*) in 1659,
Aert Adriensen mentioned (extract *dd*) in 1660,
Groenwegel mentioned (extract *ee*) in 1663 and
Aert Adriaenssen Groenewegen mentioned (extract *ff*) in 1671

are one and the same person—one Aert Adriaenszoon Groenewegen, who came from or from near the town of Scherpenisse and entered the Company's service in Essequibo between the years 1640 and 1644.

So far we appear to be on safe ground. As to the earlier history of the man we can only observe that Scott's statement, which admittedly stands alone, should receive respectful attention because of the curious amount of detail which he could not well have got from any other source but personal inquiry. It is not inconsistent with the official records that "Gromweagle" should have founded Kijkoveral as a private adventurer, supported by one of the provinces, and have maintained the position of local governor up to the time when he was actually made Commander in or about 1643. (The Zeeland Chamber in 1751 claimed to have settled Essequibo before the date of the Charter and a Commander is only once officially named before Adriaen Janss.) Yet the two excerpts marked (*c*)

and (*j*) *supra* present difficulties in the way of this explanation.

It may not be uninteresting in any case to add a few details as to the place names in the above extracts.

Scherpenisse (extract *w*) is a small town on the south side of the island of Tholen in the province of Zeeland. Groenewegen (extracts *aa*, *cc*, *ee*, *ff*), once called (*oudtijds*) Gronwegen, was (*vide* A. J. van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 1843, vol. iv. p. 888) formerly a village of South Beverland, east of Yerseke (*beoosten-Yerseke*) and is very distinctly marked on a map of Zeeland as it was in 1274, reproduced in Smallegange's *Nieuwe Cronijk van Zeeland*, 1696, and in the *Schoutonneel van het Graafschap Zeeland...verzamelt door Christoffel Beudeker.* 1717[1]. According to its position given there Groenewegen was some five miles distant from Scherpenisse and (the reference from van der Aa *ut supra* corroborating this) situated on ground now submerged.

The tendency in Dutch to exchange *l* and *n* in proper names is seen in the dual form of Schevelingen and Scheveningen, and it would therefore not be surprising to find Groenewegen (*once Gronwegen*)—possibly a territorial family name—becoming Groenwegel and even Gronwegel, Gromwegel or (Anglicized) Gromweagle.

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[1] Forming part of *Germania Inferior, sive* XVII *Provinciarum geographicae generalis ut et particulares tabulae.* (*Kaert-Boeck van de* XVII *Nederlandtsche Provincien*)—a collection (now in the British Museum) made by C. Beudeker and consisting of maps, plans, views and portraits interleaved with the texts of W. and J. Blaeu's *Toonneel des Aerdrijcks ofte Nieuwe Atlas, 1648–58*, and the *Toonneel der Steden der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1649.* 24 vols. fol.

## III

## THE THREE TOWNS[1]

It is not at all strange to see "The Three Towns"—comparatively insignificant though they are to-day—embarking in 1657 upon ambitious schemes of colonisation. The middle of the 17th century found the United Netherlands at the very summit of their greatness—"they stood in 1648 without a rival as the first of maritime and commercial Powers[2]."

In the three towns of Middelburg, Flushing and Veere were collected the merchants and the riches of the powerful province of Zeeland, whose Chamber represented two-ninths of the shareholders of the West India Company. That Company had been established in 1621 less with a view to steady trade and colonisation than in the hope of conquering rich lands or wresting booty from Portugal and Spain[3], and the determination to get rid of its comparatively unimportant Guiana colony was possibly not so much due to the loss entailed by the abandonment of Brazil in 1654[4] as to the attention—out of all proportion to any profits—which Essequibo required; the Company could not yet have forgotten that seven years after its own establishment

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[1] See p. 15.

[2] *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv. p. 716.

[3] "...occupying itself more particularly in following up its important conquests in Brazil and on the coasts of Africa and the silver-laden Spanish Fleet...."

"*...haer voornementlijck besich houdende, om hare aensienlijke conquesten gedaen in Brasil, ende op de custen van Africa, ende die met silver gheballaste Spaansche Vlote, te vervolghen...*" (*Chronijck van Zeelandt...beschreven door...Johan Reygersbergen...vermeerdert door M. Z. van Boxhorn*, Middelburch, *1644*, vol. i. p. 173.)

[4] Cf. Netscher, *Geschiedenis van Essequebo*, p. 71.

AENWYSINGE
vande Kerckelycke en
de Publycke Gebouwen
A. Nieuwe Kerk en Toren
B Choor Kerk
C Oude Kerk
D Franse Kerk
E De Oostersche Kerk
F Gast huys Kerk met het Gast huys.
G Bachte S. gravenhore Kerk.
H Engelsche Kerk
I 't Hof van Zeeland
K De Graeffelijckheyts Mant
L Het Gret huys
M De Greenmarckt
N De Borse
O De Balance
P 't Schutters Hoff der Voet boghe
Q Het Pest huys
R 't Bagyn Hoff
S De Wees Schole
T Het Oude Mannen ende Vrouwen Huys
V Het Stadt huys en Vleeschel
W De Groote Marckt
X De Poste Marckt
Y Het Simpel huys
Z 't Schutters Hoff der Hoetboghe
AENWYSINGE
vant vervolgh der
Publycke Gebouwen.
1 't Schutters Hoff der Busse
2 De Nieuwe Beestemarkt
3. De Oude Beeste Marckt.
4. De Stads Schuyre.
5. Het Tucht huys
6. De Vismarckt
7. Westjndische Packhuysen
8. De Geesse Coren Marckt
9 Het Ammonitie Huys.
10. De Oostjndische Werf.
11. Het Lazarus Huys.
12 Het Oostjndische Huys.
13. Den Dam en Wissel.
14. Het Westjndische Huys en Banck van Leeninge
15. S Graven Steen.
16. De Latynsche Schoole
17. De Dam ofte Veerse Poorte.
18. 't Slickpoortie.
19. De Seegers poorte.
20 De Vlissinghse poorte
21. De Lange Ville-Poorte.
22. De Seys poorte.
23. De Noordt poorte.
24. De Koe poorte.
Afbeelding van de Stad
MIDDELBURG
in
ZEELAND
Nauwkeurig
Zoo de Publycke Gebouwen als alle de Particuliere Huysen kennelyk naar 't Leven Geteyckent
door
CORNELIS GOLIAT
Gedruckt by Johannes Meertens

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Piet Heyn had with one stroke seized for it a Spanish treasure fleet (valued at 11,509,524 guilders) that enabled it to pay a dividend of fifty per cent.

"The Three Towns" are all situated on the small island of Walcheren—Middelburg almost in the centre, some four miles inland; Flushing on the southern coast—guarding the narrow entrance to the Western Scheldt from the North Sea; Veere on the north-east coast on another arm of the Scheldt—four miles from Middelburg, eight from Flushing.

Of MIDDELBURG—then, as now, the largest and capital town of Zeeland, and the seat of the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company—we get the following contemporaneous account from the *Chronijck van Zeelandt*[1], than which there exists no better authority. "The town itself is very fine and clean, and fitted for trade, having every convenience necessary for a commercial town, with two harbours in which may lie a number of ships; moreover, a large basin or pool, lying between two large sluices, where any big ship can at all times float....

"This commercial town has now its trade and shipping with the East and West Indies, Brazil, Guinea, Angola, the Levant, Italy, Spain, France, England, the Baltic, the Sound, and other kingdoms and countries...[2]."

Smallegange's much augmented edition[3] of the above-mentioned *Chronijck* has the following verse:—

*Classifero portu, ac fida statione carinis,*
*Metelli Burgum nobile conspicitur.*
*Urbs populo gazaque potens, et amabilis extris,*
*Vix est in mundo clarius emporium*[4].

We append, too, one of the numerous plans with which that edition is enriched.

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[1] See Note 3 on previous page.
[2] *Op. cit.* tom. i. p. 151.
[3] Middelburg, *1696*.
[4] *Op. cit.* p. 411.

*Zelandia Illustrata...beschreven door M. F. Lantsheer en F. Nagtglas* (Middelburg, 1879, Deel I. p. 203) says that this plan was drawn in 1666 and 1667, but we have proved that Goliat died probably in 1661, certainly not later than 1663[1]. It also adduces (for which we are grateful) bills for payment of £10. 10*s.* 0*d.* in 1668 to Margareta Droogbroot, widow of Cornelis Goliat, for the making of this plan, and of £9. 19*s.* 4*d.* in the same year to Anthony van Meyren "for services rendered in augmenting and correcting the map of the town of Middelburg made by Goliath."

Although we have not succeeded in finding a copy of the plan in any earlier work the fact that its maker left Europe in February, 1658[2], proves it to be of a date not later than 1657.

"FLUSHING," Boxhorn writes in 1644[3], "is now one of the most fortified towns and has one of the most convenient and accessible harbours of Zeeland, situated at the extreme edge of the country and, as it were, in the mouth of the sea, and may with good reason be proud of the opinion expressed by Charles V that she was the Queen and Key of the Netherlands[4]."

Flushing is better known to Englishmen in the 20th century than either Middelburg or Veere, yet the fact is perhaps worth recalling that an English garrison held it from 1585 to 1616 as hostage for the aid that Elizabeth was giving to the Netherlands, Sir Philip Sidney filling the post of Governor from November, 1585, until his death in October, 1586. In 1809, when the Napoleonic forces held the Netherlands, the town was bombarded by the English and its town hall unfortunately destroyed; those of Middelburg and Veere, each a gem of architecture, are still in excellent preservation.

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[1] See pp. 16, 17.
[2] *Ven Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 146.
[3] See Note on p. 154.
[4] *Chronijck*, tom. i. p. 208.

TOWN HALL, MIDDELBURG.

FROM BEUDEKER'S 'ZEELAND,' 1717.

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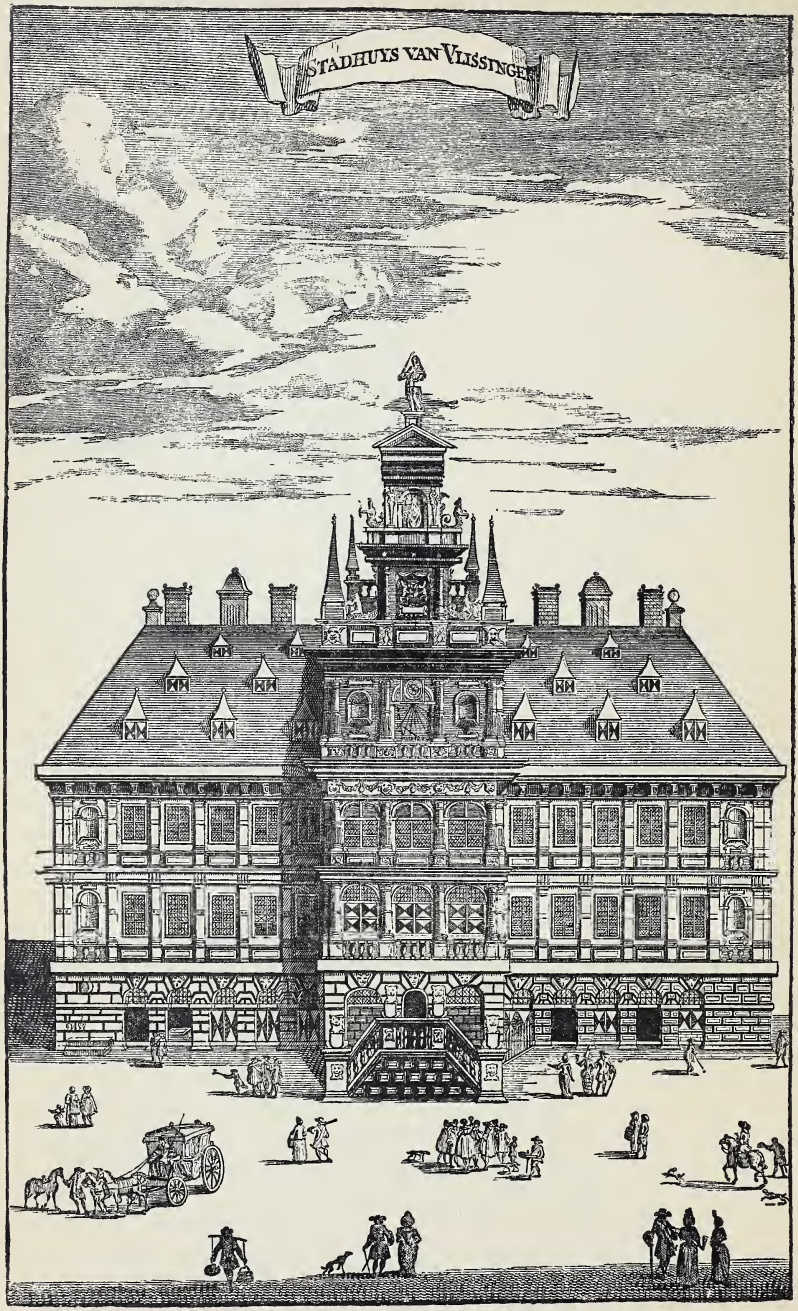
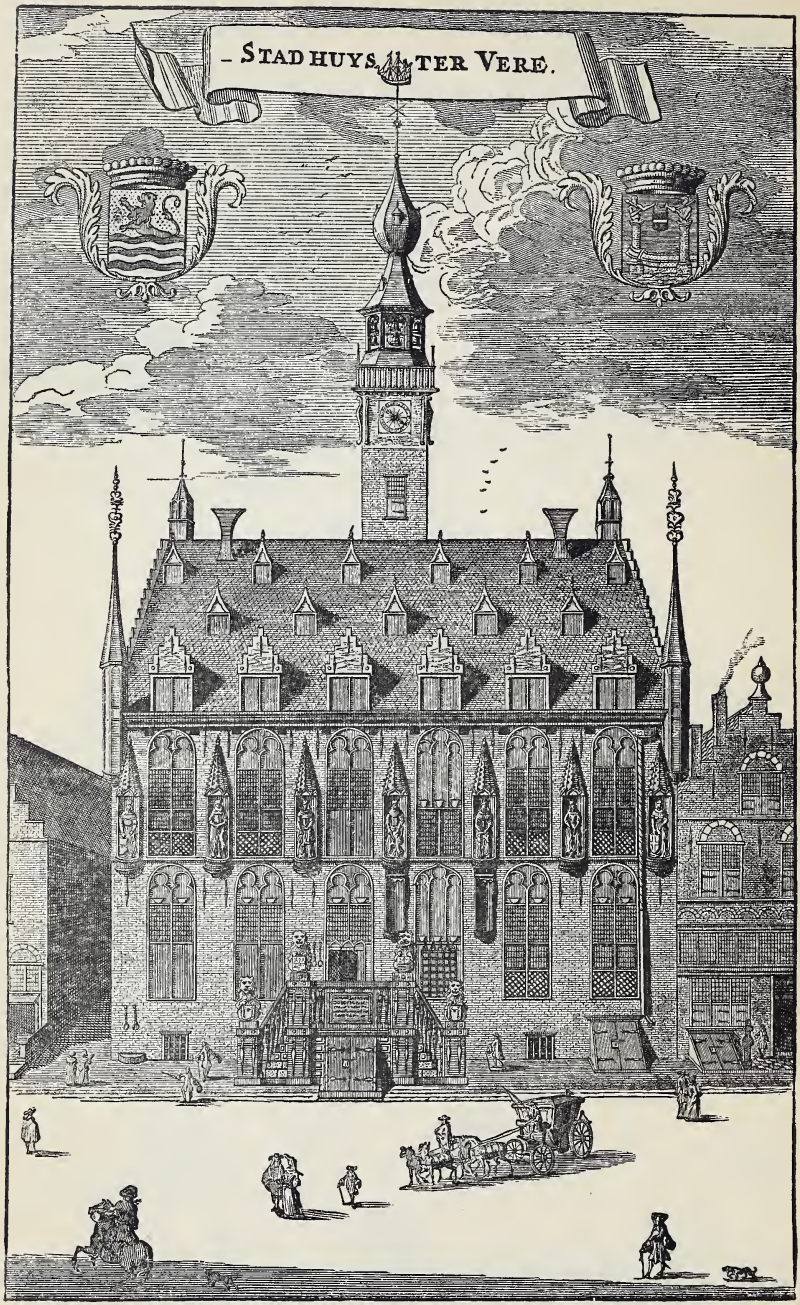



FROM SMALLEGANGE'S 'ZEELAND,' 1696.




FROM SMALLEGANGE'S 'ZEELAND,' 1696.

VEERE, Ter-Veere, or Campveere, gets its name from the fact that it was in very early times no more than a spot whence a *ferry* (Dutch, *veer*) set out for the town of Campen in North Beverland, a town destroyed by inundation in 1532. Boxhorn quotes the following:—

*Coepta fui quondam, quo tempore texit Holandos*
*Mascula progenies, o Ludovice, tua.*
*Trajectusque fui primum de nomine Campe,*
*Sicque ego Zelando nomine Vera vocor*[1].

By the middle of the 15th century Veere itself was already a town of importance. *Dye Cronijcke van Zeelandt*[2] gives a circumstantial account of naval battles fought in 1470 between "Henric van Borsselen, Here van de Veere als Admirael en opper capiteyn van de zee" and "Grave Ridtsaert van Werwijc"—our Warwick the Kingmaker—and further informs us that in 1471 Veere was fortified in order to repel Warwick's threatened invasion of Walcheren, whilst a gate was built which was called "die Werwijcxe poorte[3]." In 1475 Edward IV, King of England, presented the town and Henric van Borssele—"our most dearly beloved cousin"—with a valuable charter[4] in return for their services in harassing his enemy.

Henric's son Wolffaert (fifth of that name) married in 1444 Mary Stuart, fifth daughter of James I, King of Scotland, receiving with his bride the earldom of Buchan[5],

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[1] *Op. cit.* tom. i. p. 39.

[2] By Jan Reygersberch, *editio princeps*, Thantwerpen, *1551*, chap. xlviii, no pagination.

[3] Those unable to procure the original edition will find the same account in the *1634* edition (pp. 185–187), and in Boxhorn's edition of *1644* (vol. ii. pp. 253–256); Smallegange's edition of *1696* does not give it so fully.

[4] Set out *in extenso* in Boxhorn (*Op. cit.* i. pp. 218–222) and in Smallegange (*Op. cit.* pp. 570–572).

[5] In the *Scots Peerage* edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lord Lyon King of Arms (Edinb. *1905*), we read (vol. ii. p. 265): "Mary

and through that marriage[1] Veere became the seat of an important Scotch trade which, existing down to 1799, was finally killed by Republican legislation.

Concerning the history of that trade so much has been so ably written that we must be content to refer the reader to the following works on the subject:—

The Staple Contract betwixt the Royal Burrows of Scotland and the city of Campvere in Zealand [25 Dec. 1697]. With the several amplifications....To which is prefixed an historical account of the Staple, by a private gentleman. Edinburgh, 1749.

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Stewart, fifth daughter of James I, was styled Countess of Buchan, and having married, in *1444*, Wolfart van Borselen, Count of Grandpré, and Lord of Campvere in Holland, he is said to have become Earl of Buchan in her right (*Liber Pluscardensis*, i. 390; *Exch. Rolls*, iv. p. clxii), but no contemporary or valid proof of this statement has been found."

Now, the *Liber Pluscardensis* (*1877* edition, *loc. cit.*) reads:—"Iste [James I] vero relinquens post se filium suum Jacobum secundum, ætatis sex annorum, et sex filias, viz. Margaretam Dalphinellam Franciæ, Isabellam ducissam Britaniæ, Mariam comitissam Buchaniæ in Selandia maritatam, ac Helienoram ducissam Austriæ. Hææ vero quatuor filiæ ultra mare nuptæ sunt. Aliæ vero duæ in Scocia, viz. Johanna comitissa de Mortoune et Maria comitissa de Huntly"; further Mr W. F. Skene, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., quoted in the above volume, says:—"The Liber Pluscartensis...was probably compiled...in the year *1461* by Maurice Buchanan who...had been treasurer to the Dauphiness" [i.e. to Mary's sister].

We submit that this is fairly good *contemporary* proof of the correctness of Mary's title to the earldom of Buchan and it is supported by the independent Dutch chronicler, Jan Reygersberg, who, writing in *1551*, speaks of "Wolffaert vā Borsselē, graue vā Bochane, welc graefschap gelegen is int conincrijc van Schotlant eñ hē te huwelike gegeuē was vandē coninc vā Schotlāt met sine dochter" (*Op. cit.* chap. xlviii).

Cf. also Boxhorn, *Op. cit.* i. p. 222.

[1] This is according to Dutch tradition, as admitted by Davidson and Gray (*Op. cit.* pp. 136, 137) but discredited by them in favour of a somewhat later date. Be the date of the actual establishment of the Scotch staple what it may—and it is not incompatible, as Boxhorn appears to indicate (*Op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 222 and 223), that trade came first and its regularisation later—there can be little doubt that the marriage contributed a good deal to attract it to Veere.

YAIR (James). An account of the Scotch trade in the Netherlands and of the Staple Port in Campvere. London, 1776.

VISVLIET (M. J. van). De origine privilegiorum mercatoribus Scoticis in urbe Vera concessorum. 1786.

PERRELS (J. W.). Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Schotschen Stapel te Veere. Middelburg, 1903–05.

DAVIDSON (John) and GRAY (Alexander). The Scottish Staple at Veere. London, 1909.

"Het Schotsche Huis" still stands on one of Veere's deserted, grass-grown quays, an emblem of past prosperity; the Scotch kirk, with its dignitaries, is described by Boxhorn in 1644[1].

Wolffaert van Borssele, Lord of Veere in Zeeland, Count of Grandpré in Champagne, Earl of Buchan in Scotland, was created a knight of the Golden Fleece in 1477 and was at the same time elected Stadholder of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland[2]. Through his daughter (by a second marriage) the lordship of Veere descended in 1540 to Maximilian of Burgundy[3], who was in such favour with the Emperor Charles V that Veere was in 1555 raised to the dignity of a marquisate[4]. It was Maximilian who in 1551 presented the town with the handsome goblet still preserved in the mouldering archives of the old town hall[5].

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[1] *Op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 249, 250.

[2] *Dye Cronijcke*, chap. xlix.

[3] Boxhorn, i. p. 223.

[4] *Op. cit.* i. p. 224.

[5] *Ib.* On the later fortunes of the town it is unnecessary to dilate; enough has surely been adduced to show warrant for its venture in a Transatlantic colony in the middle of the 16th century.

## IV

## STORM'S DIFFICULTIES[1]

To bring out, though we trust not with undue emphasis, the difficulties with which Storm had to contend throughout the whole of his career, we have deemed it expedient to string together very concisely, but always in the original wording of the despatches, some of the allusions Storm himself makes to the Company's neglect of their colony, to his own overwork and ill-health.

### (i) *Lack of supplies.*

"...There being not the least thing in the world left in Your Honours' warehouse and nothing to be got in the whole of the river I did not know what to do for the rations...." April, 1743. See p. 204.

"...There is a general dearth of everything—no victuals, no ammunition, the warehouses already long empty, the smithies at a standstill for want of coal and iron....If we had no supplies from the English (though these are but scant and dear) we should all very long since have been brought to making shift with a crust of dry bread and a draught of water." Feb. 1745. See p. 214.

"It seems as if the sea were closed—no ships from home, no English barques, what is to become of us if this goes on?" Sept. 1747. See p. 232.

"[I] shall have to turn the negro carpenters into the plantations for want of tools....

"The Chief Surgeon...is at his wits' end concerning the absence of the most necessary drugs and the exceedingly bad quality of others...." July, 1749. See pp. 245, 246.

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[1] See p. 32.

"I was obliged to give them [the soldiers] a half ration of bad salt cod, there being naught else in the warehouse but a remnant of barley and some salt." Oct. 1753. See p. 302.

"I have nothing at all for the rations to be distributed on the 6th....There is a total lack of everything except bread of which I have enough...for about four weeks." March, 1756. See p. 348.

"I have now been over twenty years in this Colony and have never seen such universal want." Jan. 1759. See p. 361.

"There is a dearth of everything in the Colony....One hardly knows which way to turn to find food for the slaves." Dec. 1760. See p. 380.

"In my long years of service I have never yet been in such pressing difficulties....I have had to buy piecemeal of the English trading from Barbados in order to feed the soldiers and employees....We lack everything, without exception. There being no oil or candles the garrison and the workmen have to go to bed with the chickens....All is at a standstill." Oct. 1765. See p. 490.

"I am at my wits' end and know not what to do respecting the absolute want of everything in which we are and have already been so long." Dec. 1765. See p. 491.

"It is 25 months since I received the same goods as have now come....Is it possible to make one year's rations do for 25 months? The plantations and slaves have suffered most." Oct. 1766. See p. 508.

"Various kinds of provisions, especially peas, beans, &c., &c. often arrive totally useless." Dec. 1766. See p. 517.

"Eight English barques are now lying off the Fort and three in Demerara, so that there is at present no lack of either horses or provisions." March, 1767. See p. 536.

"I must now, *nolens volens*, buy from the English, or allow Your Honours' slaves to go without rations, and what the results of that would be YY. HH. can easily imagine." April, 1769. See p. 611.

"If the English were not to come here the Colony would be unfortunate, indeed." Nov. 1769. See p. 625.

"All the warehouses are empty and were it not for some North Americans who have run in it would be a bad look-out." Jan. 1771. See p. 639.

"The great dearth and the absolutely empty state of the Company's warehouse have compelled me to purchase from Captain Kentwhat is necessary." March, 1771. See p. 642.

"It is now eighteen months ago since we received the last goods for the slaves." July, 1771. See p. 649.

"...It being nineteen months since we received the last provisions and trading wares." Aug. 1771. See p. 652.

"There is not a nail left to fasten anything with or to nail up the sugar casks—we are without a thing." Sept. 1771. See p. 654.

"Lack of provisions has never been greater....On...ration day...there was not an atom of meal in the warehouse....For myself it does not matter; I buy what I want and pay for it out of my pocket. But the...slaves, the plantations—what is to become of them?" Nov. 1771. See pp. 657, 658.

### (ii) *Shortage of slaves.*

On pp. 282 (1752), 328 (1755), 402, 403 (1762), 408-412 and 431 (1763) appear successive remonstrances from Storm showing the rapid deterioration of the Company's plantations for want of adequate labour.

Speaking of the early period of Storm's administration Netscher (*Op. cit.* p. 115) says:—"The Directors remained terribly neglectful in sending provisions and trading wares, whilst of the negro slaves, thousands of whom were landed in Surinam, a ship-load but rarely reached Essequibo." Again, when referring to the same matter at a much later time (*ca.* 1770), he says, "The W. I. Co. always continued to treat Essequibo and Demerara in stepmotherly fashion in respect to this." *Op. cit.* p. 145.

(iii) *An undermanned militia.*

Storm's repeated appeals for reinforcements will be found at the pages and in the years given below.

Pp. 275 (1750), 305 (1754), 354 (1757), 404 (1762), 420, 439, 498, 500, 520, 521 (1766), 545 (1767), 569, 581, 587 (1768) and 665 (1772).

(iv) *Storm's uncongenial colleague.*

Though there is abundant evidence that Storm valued Secretary Spoors' administrative powers (see pp. 201, 234 and 369) that very evidence evinces a total absence of good fellowship and even of good understanding between the two, and this was more pronounced as time went on (see p. 633). Already in 1749, the Secretary, in writing to thank the Directors for appointing him *locum tenens* during the Commander's visit home, gives them to understand that the imminence of the visit had been unknown to him (P.R.O. 468/217), and immediately after Storm's return there was an open rupture (see p. 280).

In 1764 Spoors' sight failed (see pp. 457 and 459) and applying for his discharge he proceeded to Europe for surgical advice. Upon his return in 1766 (see p. 516) he retained his seat as a Councillor (see p. 633) and subsequently became Storm's bitterest enemy, even going to extremes in his behaviour towards the aged and infirm Director-General (see pp. 559–561). A remarkable letter written by him to the Directors in 1767, on the occasion of one of Storm's periodical visits to Demerara—a letter containing at least an exaggeration of the truth concerning Storm's intentions and probably calculated to injure him in the Netherlands—will be found on p. 565. On Feb. 22, 1768 (P.R.O. 474/70) Storm reports that Spoors died that day and bewails the amount of work this will entail upon him, for Spoors—apart from leaving chaos in the secretarial office upon his retirement—had also left his own affairs in

great confusion. Concerning Spoors' nature and his conception of duty towards his old Company, as compared with Storm's conscientiousness and zeal, some interesting details, written but a day or two before his death, are given at pp. 566 and 567.

### (v) *Overwork.*

Storm makes no very insistent complaint about this until the last five years of his administration.

"It is impossible for YY. HH. to comprehend how manifold my duties are becoming." March, 1767. See p. 536.

"Now in my old age...I am Director-General, Secretary, Bookkeeper, Salesmaster, in a word—everything. This does not worry me so long as it pleases the Almighty to grant me health and strength." Feb. 1768. See p. 563.

"I found the books in a terrible muddle and have had endless toil and trouble to get them into order." Feb. 1768 (p. 567).

"I must now do what I have not done for twenty-nine years, that is, sit writing in my office from seven till twelve in the morning and from three to six in the afternoon." Feb. 1768 (p. 568).

"Cet esclavage, qui devient de jour en jour plus insupportable." Dec. 1768 (p. 591).

"There is nothing of any importance whatsoever that has not to go through my hands." Feb. 1769 (p. 596).

"My duties are too many for one man to perform." Feb. 1769 (*ib.*).

"Never have I had such pressure of business as now." Feb. 1769 (p. 600).

"The chief part of the work is now done...little or nothing more than the usual course of business will be left for my successor and the new secretary to do." March, 1769 (p. 602).

"I have long feared and foreseen that I should finally succumb under my burden...for it is impossible for one person to do alone what I am obliged to do." July, 1769 (p. 622).

"Toiling, moiling and worrying myself to death in order to put everything right that the former secretaries had neglected." June, 1770 (p. 637).

"I am quite dazed and hardly know what to do or where to begin. I must succumb, for I cannot go on." June, 1771 (p. 647).

"The offices of secretary, bookkeeper, receiver of dues and taxes and salesmaster having now been vacant for four years, everything rests upon my weak shoulders; to this is now added the commandership of Demerara, which, although filled, like the secretaryship, *ad interim*, still really falls on me." June, 1771 (p. 648).

### (vi) *Ill-health.*

"I am getting old, day by day weaker and less fitted for such continuous work and worry. In addition to this, my memory is getting bad." Aug. 1765. See p. 490.

"Even writing, which was always a light and pleasant labour for me, is now a task which I can perform only with great trouble and many breaks." Dec. 1766. See p. 523.

"I am very weak and suffering intolerable pain, sleepless all night long." July, 1766. See p. 547.

"I find myself getting weaker daily, so that work is a burden and trouble to me." May, 1769. See p. 615.

"I am daily getting weaker and more despondent, especially at finding I cannot do my work as usual." July, 1769. See p. 623.

"Were I not so full of ailments and did my strength but permit I would come to Europe in the spring." Dec. 1769. See p. 626.

"Order must be kept with a strong hand; this I cannot do—my weak condition prevents it." April, 1770 (p. 632).

"Since January, 1769, I have been constantly ill and debilitated; this year I have been at Death's door and still continually beset with fever and pains in my back." June, 1770 (p. 634).

"I can do nothing more, except with the pen, and that but very defectively and almost illegibly. I am pretty deaf and can only hear when people speak very loudly....My memory, too, is beginning to fail me, and I myself am getting weaker daily." Jan. 1771 (p. 640).

### (vii) *Deferred discharge.*

To us, who live in free, less fettered times, this seems the strangest plaint of all.

"I would like to go with honour, and if it last longer, this can scarcely be, by reason of the amount of worry and opposition I have to contend with. To cope therewith youth and strength are required, but not a worn-out decrepit old man." Dec. 1766. See p. 525.

"Do not, Your Honours, I beg, grudge me a little rest if it please the Lord to lengthen my days still a little. I cannot possibly hold out any longer, and cannot therefore be of any use or service to VV. HH. or the Colony." March, 1767. See p. 530.

"A starving beggar cannot long for a crust of bread as I long for the arrival of my successor." March, 1767. See p. 542.

"The reasons for my resignation...are far from extinct but on the contrary increase in force daily." Feb. 1768. See p. 567.

"N'osant pas réitérer mes prières à Son altesse Sérénissime je n'ay pas manqué...dans toutes mes lettres aux Directeurs de réitérer ma demande et d'insister très-sérieusement sur l'envoy d'un successeur. Nous voilà en Décembre, 1768, ainsi deux années d'écoulées depuis ma demande, & il n'y a rien encore de fait à cet égard, ce qui me chagrine extrêmement." Dec. 1768. See p. 589.

"I have taken the liberty of applying once more to His Serene Highness for my discharge." Feb. 1769. See p. 597. Cf p. 591.

Storm's release did not come until more than three years after the date of the last extract here given.

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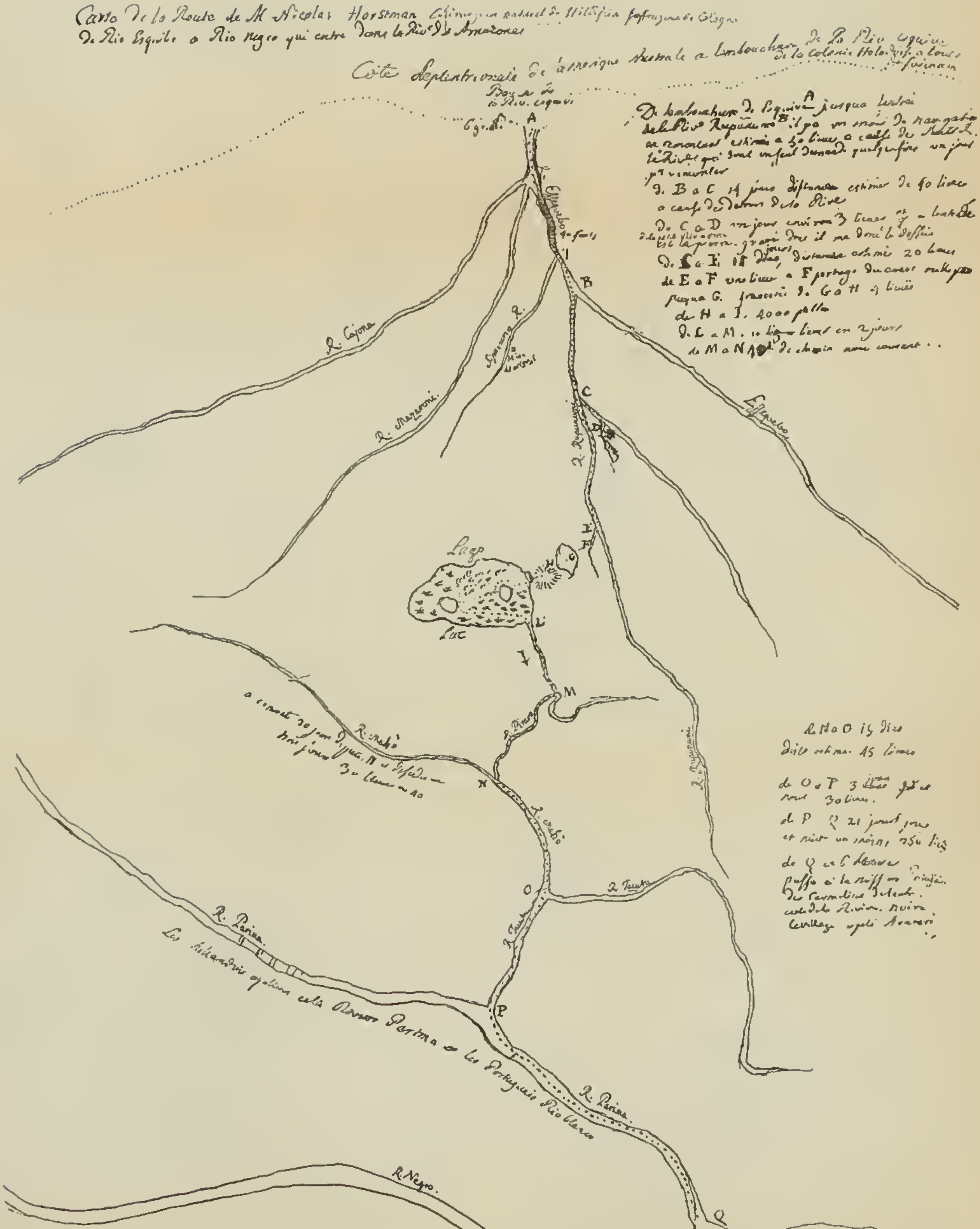


HORSTMAN'S MAP, FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

## V

### The expedition undertaken by Nicolas Horstman at the instance of Laurens Storm van 's Gravesande in 1739.

La Condamine in his *Relation Abrégée d'un Voyage fait dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique Méridionale* (*Paris*, 1745) says:—

"I have in my hands an extract from the diary and a rough sketch of a map of the traveller[1], probably the most modern of those who ever persevered in that exploration. It was handed to me in Para, by the author himself, who, in the year 1740, ascended the River Essequibo, which flows into the ocean between the River Surinam and the Orinoco. After having traversed lakes and vast plains, sometimes dragging and sometimes carrying his canoe with incredible hardships and fatigue, and without having at all found what he sought, he at last reached a river which runs south, and by which he descended into the Rio Negro, which it enters from the north. The Portuguese have given it the name of the White River and the Dutch of Essequibo that of Parima, no doubt because they thought it led to the Lake Parima, as the same name was given in Cayenne to another river for a similar reason. For the rest one may believe, if one will, that the Lake Parima is one of those traversed by the traveller I have just quoted, but he had found in them so little resemblance to the picture he had formed of the Golden Lake that he appeared to me to be very far from supporting that idea."

The extract from Horstman's diary, unearthed, after long search, by one of the compilers of the present work, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (where it lay in the Klaprot collection with other of d'Anville's documents), proved of great value in the Boundary Arbitration between British Guiana and Brazil; its historical interest is such that it

[1] Nicolas Horstman, a native of Hildesheim.

has been reproduced here *in extenso*, with translation. By La Condamine it appears to have been handed to d'Anville, the cartographer, who made use of the information it contained in his large map of South America, published in 1748, and it was subsequently consulted by Alexander von Humboldt, who frequently quotes it, though not always with absolute precision[1].

*Extrait du Journal de Nicolas Horstman, Chirurgien de Hildeshein en Vestphalie venu de Rio Esquive sur la côté de Surinam au Para par la Rive Noire ecrit en mauvais Portugais ce de sa main*[2].

*Jornada q fiz ao sonhado Lago de Parima o de Oro no anno de* 1739.

Ao 3 de November do 1739 embarcemus eu, Christian Ruijsch, e Leonardo Ronij no Cartabo o Residentz do Comañdor do Rio Essequebe, o qual nos soubimus.

Ao 4to, 5to e 6to gastemus em passar o Povoado.

A 7to chegemus ao primeira Caxoeira chamada Aratacca o qual sendo pequena não custo muito pena soubir. Ao tarde 2 horas chegemus ao 2do Caxoeira, chamada Marriá, o qual soube, jou de perigosa, o q' ou outra faltava, e sendo tam medonha seu asspecto; dormio de Noite im sua visinhança.

Ao 8 Passemus isto perigoso lugar de pois de termos descarregada ao cano, de 6 horas pela manhaa athe os 3 de Tarde, e eu medindo seu altura acheij 14 Pez ao dita Caxoeira levantar, da soubre ao Agoa.

Ao 9 10 10 [*sic*] 12 in istis 4 dies 5 Caxoeiras grandes, e 2 pequenas passada, dos quas não se os nomes.

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[1] (*a*) *Voyage aux Régions équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent fait en 1799–1804* (Paris, *1819*), Pt. I. tom. ii. pp. 529, 683, etc.

(*b*) *Sur quelques points importans de la Géographie de la Guyane*, published in *Annales de Voyages* (Paris, *1837*), tom. lxxiv. p. 158, etc.

Further, all Humboldt's references to Horstman's voyage, tabulated and critically examined, are given in Note IV to the British Counter-Case in the Boundary Arbitration with Brazil. Respecting the consultation of those papers see Note 2 on p. 5.

[2] This superscription appears to be by La Condamine.

Ao 13 tudo iste die passej grandes bancos de Area, e o singuinte de mesmo sorte, os quas tinhão tapado o Rio e mandej passar ao Canoa sobre Area sicca.

Ao 15 Passejo Rio Arassari o qual tem de fronte o monte do mesmo nomen deixe o Rio a mão direito e o monte ao esquerde, os quas ambos de duo staan [*sic*] povoado da Caribes.

Ao 16. O grande montanha Nauwarucu apareceo de Fronte de Nos, iste die passej outro vez 2 Caxoeiras bem perigosas.

Ao 17 Passei outrovez huna grande Caxoeira Petapi chamada no qual me fez hum grande Buraco no canoa, e stivemos im ponte de nos alogarnos.

Ao 18 Stivemos trabalhando no concerto de canoa.

Ao 19 Passemus o deixemus o monte Nauvarŏcŭ a tras pera mão esquerda, e appereceo in seu lugar o alto monte Cumudi. Iste die passemus o mais perigosa e diabolica Caxoeirao qual se pode ver Arapata chamada in qual staa em [*sic*] huma Pedra sculpida in modo de huma Porta cum seu Portal bem feita, conforme me diceron os Indios, o qual eu não pode ver, pelo grande Furia q fez o Caxoeira.

Ao 20 iste die passemus os Caxoeiras Pawaricajra Maritata, Pataputu, Adapitu, os quas saom tam streita seos Caminhos, quod era necessari [*sic*] opera cortando hum pedazo de cada banda da cano pro passar.

Ao 21. passemus ao grande Caxoeira Itami, mais 6 outros pequenos. Iste die mataron os Indios hum Torpedo, no qual experimentei o verdade o qual se conta do tal Peixe.

Eo 22. Passej outros 3 Caxoeiras e passei o Rio Amú in cujus cabeceras nasce muto pau de Lettras ou Pau pirini. Passei tambem o montanha Cumudi, sobre qual vi o decanta Panella entre os Indios, o qual não he outra causa como huma pedra da figuras [*sic*] de hum globo ou ballo o qual staa sobre a Pinna do dita Monte.

Ao 23 Depois de passada outros 4 Caxoeiras passej o Rio Sibarona, in qual entre 14 dies de viage cum huma canoa pequena, e 4 dies pors [*sic*] terra pera ver si misturado cum o Christal o qual os Hollandeses chaman Calecco, não se acharon Saphir, ou Esmeraldes, porem não achej outro causa cum o dito Calecco, o qual nasce forra da terra a Altura de meja Palma, outros mais pequenhos, outros majores, in figura quadrata, e outros octavada, cum as Pontas lapidades como hum diamant cum qual os vidreiros cortan o vidro, o qual officium se pode fazer cum dito pedra tambem.

~~Ao 24~~ [*sic*] Depois de ter gastado perto de hum mes na dita diligencia voltei outro vez na Maj do Rio a 18 de Dezembro, e no mesmo die chegemus na Aldea dos Parahans, in o qual stive ate o 9 do Avrill no anno da 1740, pelo amor dos aguas, os quas stavam muito bajxas.

Ao 10 do Aprill do 1740 parti de este Aldeija no qual die não aconteceo nade da Reparo.

Ao 11 Chegemus a Caxoeira Traquari[1] chamada, o qual medi e atheij 18 Pes de Altura passei mais 2 outros de menus Perigo.

Ao 12 Passei outros 2 bem perigosas.

Ao 13 Outros tres os quas foi os ultimos os quas ascendemus.

Ao 14 15 16 17 não passo nade de repara ate ao 18 entremus no Rio Rupununi no qual logo in Principio tem muitos Montos, entre os quas hum chamada Macarana he muito alto, e staa semper na Ponte cheja de browalho, e vi eum 25 dies e depois de ter andado algumas 10 dies chegei ate o Campina, o qual vej continuando ate o Rio Parima.

Ao 28 Passej hum jarape no qual staa hum Pedra cum varias lettras e humas figuras, mais o Assento do cesso mais as Barrigas dos Pernas e as calcangares de quem o escreveo.

Ao 29 30 e o 1 e 2 do Majo foi andando o Rio arriba o qual tem aqui muito tortura.

Ao 3~~1~~ [*sic*] Entre em hum jarape e depois de ter andado hum mejo die entremos in hum Lago o qual staa cheo de Arbores, e depois de ter andado ate a Noite dornaie aqui.

Ao 4 Andei outroves ate o mejo die no dito lago atte chegemus a Campina no qual haviemus de puxar o Canoa.

Ao 5 6 7 gastemus em puxare o Canoa sobre terra, e a fazenda.

Ao 8 entremus no lago, no qual gastemus iste die inteiro, e o outro tambem, e depois de termus passado huma Ilha chegemus ao

Ao 10 outro lugar no qual gastemus a 11 12 13 e 14 a puxare outrevez ao Canoa mais os fazendas e embarcemus, outro vez

Ao 11 e entremus no lago grande chamada dos Indios Amucu, no qual andemus sempre sobre juncus dos quas o lago staa de todo cheo, e tem 2 Ilhas no meo, ao 12, 13, 14 e 15 no qual entremos no Rio Pirara, in qual gastemus 3 Dies e entremus.

Ao 20 in Rio Mao, no qual Rio arribeij 15 dies semper in montanhas, por discrúbrir huma Mina de Prata o qual me dizeron sabio hum Indio, porem depois de ter tido tanto trabalho e passado algumas Caxoeiras me acheij irganado, e volteij outrovez e chegej

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[1] Undoubtedly an error in transcription for Iraquari.

Ao 8 de junho ao onde stive o canoa, no qual stive 2 dies, e

Ao 11 descei a Rio abaxo, no qual ao 12 acheij hum Indio fugido cum sua familia de huma Aldeija Aricari, no Rio Negro o qual me mostro, ou insigno a Caminha in (?) Rio Parima e eu a ille o Caminha aos Hollandeses.

Ao 13 me fugirao 44 Indios do Canoa, deixando me so ficar cum 4 Mulattos e 4 Indios cum os quaes desceij o Rio abaijxo e chegeij ao

14 no Rio Tacutu, in qual andeij 9 dies e depois andado ce (?) illos entre ao

24 no Rio Parima, no qual logo 2 dies despois minha entrada staa hum monte o qual tem hum grande lago por sima, o qual foi ver e acheij Peijxe no dito lago, de mesmo sorte como staan no mesmo Rio, mais a Agoa he preto no lago, e no Rio branco, e depois de ter ainda andada 15 dies o Rio abaijxo, chegej ao 16 de Julho no Rio Negro, na Aldeija de Aracari. E depois de ter passado tantos perigos e trabalhos de Mar e Indios bravos, dos quas dos Parahans ate ao Entrado no Rio branco todos os Rios staan semeados, foi robado e furtado de huma Fr. do Carmo Missionario do dito Aldeija &c. [*sic*].

A Monsieur,

Monsieur le Chevalier de la Condamine, Pensionaire de L'Academie Royale des Sciences a Para.

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## TRANSLATION.

*Extract from the Journal of Nicolas Horstman, Surgeon of Hildesheim, in Westphalia, come from Rio Esquive, on the Coast of Surinam, to Pará, by the Rio Negro, written in bad Portuguese, but just as he wrote it.*

*Journey which I made to the Imaginary Lake of Parima, or of Gold, in the Year* 1739.

On the 3rd of November, 1739, we embarked, I, Christian Ruijsch, and Leonardo Ronij, in Cartabo, the residence of the Commandeur of the Rio Essequebe, which we ascended.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th we spent in passing the inhabited part.

On the 7th we reached the first cataract, called Aratacca, which, being small, did not cost much trouble to ascend. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we reached the second cataract, called Marriá, which superabounded in danger as much as the other

lacked, and its appearance being so terrible I slept the night in its vicinity.

On the 8th we passed this dangerous place after having unloaded the canoe, from 6 o'clock in the morning to 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and on measuring its height I found the said cataract has a rise of 14 feet above the water.

On the 9th, 10th, 10th [*sic*] 12th. In these four days five large cataracts and two small ones were passed, of which I do not know the names.

On the 13th. All this day I passed great banks of sand, and on the following day in the same manner, and they had stopped up the river, and I ordered the canoe to be taken over on dry sand.

On the 15th I passed the River Arassari, which has in front the hill of the same name. I left the river on the right hand and the hill on the left; both of them are inhabited by Caribs.

On the 16th the great mountain Nauwarucu appeared in front of us. This day I again passed two considerably dangerous cataracts.

On the 17th I again passed a great cataract called Petapi, in which a great hole was made in my canoe, and we were on the point of being swamped.

On the 18th we were working at mending the canoe.

On the 19th we passed or left behind the mountain Nauwarucu on the left hand, and saw in its place the high hill Cumudi. This day we passed the most dangerous and diabolical cataract that can be seen, called Arapata, in which there is [in][1] a carved stone in the form of a gate, with its portal well fashioned as the Indians told me, which I could not see owing to the great fury of the cataract.

On the 20th. This day we passed the cataracts Pawaricajra, Maritata, Pataputu, Adapitu, which are so narrow in their passages that it was a necessary operation to cut a piece of each side from the canoe in order to pass.

On the 21st we passed the great cataract Itami and six other small ones. This day the Indians killed a torpedo, in which I experienced the truth of what is related of that fish.

On the 22nd I passed three other cataracts and passed the River Amú, at the headwaters of which grows much letter wood, or pirini wood. I also passed the mountain Cumudi, on which I

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[1] Redundant.

saw the celebrated Panella of the Indians, which is nothing else but a stone in the form of a globe or ball which stands on the top of the said mountain.

On the 23rd. After passing four other cataracts I passed the River Sibarona, in which I entered a fourteen days' journey with a small canoe, and four days by land to see if, mixed with the crystal which the Dutch call *calecco*, there were not to be found sapphires or emeralds, but I did not find anything else with the said *calecco*, which rises from the ground to the height of half a palm, some smaller, some larger, in square shape, and others octagonal, with the points cut like a diamond, with which glaziers cut glass, which operation can be done with the said stone also. After having spent nearly a month in the said business I returned again to the main channel of the river on the 18th of December, and on the same day we arrived at the village of the Parahans, in which I remained up to the 9th of April in the year 1740 by reason of the waters, which were very low.

On the 10th of April of 1740 I started from this village, in which day nothing noteworthy occurred.

On the 11th we reached the cataract called Traquari[1], which I measured, and found 18 feet high. I passed also two others of less danger.

On the 12th I passed two others considerably dangerous.

On the 13th three others, which were the last we ascended.

On the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th nothing remarkable occurred until on the 18th we entered the River Rupununi, in which there are at the very commencement many hills, among which one called Macarana is very high, and has its top always enveloped in mist, and I saw it twenty-five days, and after having proceeded some ten days I reached the savannah, which I saw continuing up to the River Parima.

On the 28th I passed an *igarapé*, in which stands a stone with various letters and some figures, also the seat of the fundament, also the calves of the legs and the heels of him who wrote it.

On the 29th, 30th, and the 1st and 2nd of May I kept proceeding up the river, which is here very winding.

On the 3rd I entered an *igarapé*, and after having proceeded half-a-day we entered a place [? lake] which is full of trees, and after having proceeded until night I slept here.

On the 4th I proceeded again up to mid-day in the said place until we reached the savannah, in which we had to drag the canoe.

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[1] See Note on p. 170.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th we spent in dragging the canoe and the cargo over land.

On the 8th we entered the lake, in which we spent this entire day, and the next likewise, and after having passed an island we reached on the 10th another place, in which we spent the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th in again dragging the canoe and also the cargo, and we embarked again on the 11th and entered the great lake, called by the Indians Amucu, in which we proceeded constantly over reeds, with which the lake is entirely filled, and it has two islands in the middle; on the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th, we entered the River Pirara, in which we spent three days, and entered on the 20th the River Mao, in which river I went up for fifteen days, constantly among mountains, to discover a silver mine which they told me an Indian knew of, but after having had so much labour and passed some cataracts I found myself deceived and turned back and arrived on the 8th of June at the place where the canoe stayed, in which I remained two days, and on the 11th I came down stream, in which on the 12th I found a runaway Indian with his family from a village Aricari, on the Rio Negro, who showed or pointed out to me the route in Rio Parima, and I to him the route to the Dutch.

On the 13th forty-four Indians ran away from the canoe, leaving me alone with four Mulattoes and four Indians, with whom I came down the river and arrived on the 14th in the River Tacutu, in which I proceeded nine days, and after these were passed, I entered on the 24th in the River Parima, in which, just two days after my entrance, there stands a mountain which has a great lake on top, which I went to see, and I found fish in the said lake of the same sort as are in the same river, but the water is black in the lake and white in the river, and after having gone fifteen days further down the river I arrived on the 16th of July in the Rio Negro, in the village of Aracari, and after having passed such great dangers and difficulties of sea and wild Indians, with whom from the *Parahans* up to the entrance into the Rio Branco all the rivers are thickly populated, I was robbed and pillaged by a Carmelite Friar, a missionary of the said village, &c.

[On the back of the original is the following endorsement.]

A Monsieur
Monsieur le Chevalier de la Condamine, Pensionaire
de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, Pará.

# VI

## INDIAN TRIBES

The following notes on some of the Indian tribes inhabiting or frequenting the Dutch Colony during Storm van 's Gravesande's administration may be found useful in elucidating the Director-General's references to them scattered throughout his despatches. Notes on those having a history more concise will be found under the despatches themselves.

Whilst we have invariably adduced the sources from which our information is drawn we would remind the reader that no complete idea of the Guiana Indians can be gained without a perusal of Robert Schomburgk's *Reports*[1], Richard Schomburgk's *Reisen in Britisch Guiana*[2] and im Thurn's *Among the Indians of Guiana*[3].

### *Akawois.*

Humboldt[4] reports that in the middle of the 16th century the *Omaguas*[5], the Manáos and the Guaypes (Uaupes or Guayupes), three mighty nations, dwelt in the plains which extend to the north of the River Amazon.

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[1] Cf. p. 111. There is a very fair index—especially full respecting Indians—to these Reports, which form vol. iii. of the Annex to the British Case in the Brazil Arbitration.

[2] Cf. p. 116. [3] Cf. p. 125.

[4] Humboldt et Bonpland, *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales*, tom. ii. p. 697.

[5] In these Indian names apparently unintelligible variations of form are found which explain themselves on closer examination—e.g. we have observed that "m" or "om" at the beginning of a word is scarcely audible, so that if we trace "Om-aguas" through Scott's transliteration "Occowyes" we easily get to "Akawois." Similarly the "Guaypes" or people coming from the River Uaupes are more commonly known as Wapisanas, *ana* signifying "springing from."

Major John Scott[1], writing in 1669, says that the *Occowyes*, Shawhauns[2] and Semicorals are great powerful nations that live in the uplands of Guiana either under the line or in south latitude and cover a vast tract of land beginning at the Mountains of the Sun on the west and north and extending themselves to the Rio Negro 500 miles south.

In 1724 we find some Akawois living under the protection of the Dutch in Essequibo[3] and giving warning of intended Manáo raids[4]; in 1750 they complain to Storm of ill-treatment (on the part of the colonists)[5] but assist in pursuit of runaway slaves in 1752[6]; in 1755 they attack some of the plantations[7] and Storm, suspecting a repetition of their ill-treatment[8], has the matter enquired into[9], but they are reluctant to come to the Fort[10] and prefer to take the law into their own hands[11]; by the following year (1756) those in Demerara are perfectly satisfied[12], those still hostile in Essequibo and Massaruni[13] finally pacified[14]. In 1763 they aid in quelling the Berbice rebellion[15] and two years later (1765) war breaks out between them and the Caribs[16] and is waged until 1768[17]; in 1772 they once more aid Storm in quelling a negro rising[18].

According to Humboldt[19] the tribe was in 1775 dwelling between the Rupununi, the Mahu and the Pacaraima chain;

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[1] Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., No. 3662, fol. 39.

[2] These have been identified with the Guaypes, Uaupes or Wapisanas, whose name is often spelt Wapeshanas.

[3] *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* vol. i. p. 24.

[4] *Ib.* p. 23; the warning was a false one, however, as Storm avers in *1763* (see p. 414).

[5] See p. 251. [6] See p. 287. [7] See p. 340.

[8] See p. 342. [9] See p. 346. [10] See p. 343.

[11] See pp. 343 and 347. [12] See p. 347. [13] See p. 349.

[14] *Ib.* [15] See p. 438. [16] See p. 485.

[17] See pp. 496, 500, 529, 552, 547 and 583. [18] See p. 665.

[19] *Op. cit.* ii. p. 684.

in 1825 Hilhouse[1] speaks of them as the pedlars of the whole eastern coast, in a constant state of locomotion, carrying cargoes of European goods to the Spanish and Portuguese frontiers for barter there.

### *Arawaks.*

Keymis speaks of this tribe as "a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, do for the most part serve and follow the Spaniardes" and enters somewhat fully into their relations with the latter[2]; already in 1624 a competent writer[3] alludes to them as inhabiting the lower part of the Essequibo, Pedro Simon[4] mentions that river and Berbice as their principal dwelling-place, and Storm himself speaks of them as "the real aborigines of this country[5]."

According to Spix and Martius[6] the Arawaks were predominant (about 1740) along the northern bank of the Negro from the confluence with the Amazon as far as the mouth of the Branco, and little or nothing is heard of them in the Dutch records until 1754, when Storm reports them acting as his coast-guard[7]. In 1755 he sends for them to parley with the refractory Akawois[8] but this summons they did not obey[9], though in 1758, 1760 and 1763[10] they are again at work for the Dutch. In 1767 they bring in fugitive slaves[11]; in 1769 Storm appoints "a commander to their liking under whom all who live between this river

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[1] *Jour. R. G. Soc.* vol. ii. p. 233.

[2] *Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana, 1596*, pp. 4, 5, 9, 11.

[3] *Voyage faict par les Pères de Familles* (Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., 179 B); see also p. 11.

[4] *Noticias historiales, 1625*. p. 664.

[5] See p. 374.

[6] *Reise in Brasilien, 1831*, Pt. iii. p. 1302.

[7] See p. 314. [8] See p. 343. [9] *Ib.*

[10] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. pp. 142, 146, 190–195 and 226.

[11] See p. 554.

and Berbice now stand[1]," and in 1770 Hartsinck—probably inspired by Storm[2]—speaks of

> "the Arawaks and Warouws, with whom we live in peace and great friendship. They come daily to our people, whilst we carry on a great trade with them in canoes and hammocks, and receive from them many services for slight remuneration[3]."

Humboldt alludes to "the great mass of this warlike nation" as still to be found on the unhealthy banks of the Surinam and the Berbice[4].

## *Caribs.*

The term *Carib* has been so loosely employed by all early writers—and we fear even Storm is not free from this reproach—that it has grown to be almost the common designation for all aborigines of the West Indian Islands and of the neighbouring mainland. It is only when we find in the Director-General's despatches and in the writings of better-known men the Carib name used to distinguish one tribe from another (be that other also of Carib or of a different race) that we may assume it to apply to what im Thurn[5] calls *True Caribs*; these facts then must detract from the reliability of any historical statements concerning the Carib habitat or migrations.

Humboldt speaks of them as an active people, commercial and warlike, carrying their wares from the coasts of Dutch Guiana to the basin of the Amazon[6], and regards them as having inhabited the sources of the Essequibo and the Branco from time immemorial[7]. Keymis, in 1596, mentions them in connexion with Lake Parima[8] (now identified with the oft-submerged plain around the village

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[1] See p. 88.
[2] See p. 460.
[3] *Beschrijving van Guiana*, i. p. 270.
[4] *Voyage*, tom. iii. p. 13.
[5] *Among the Indians*, p. 163.
[6] *Op. cit.* tom. iii. p. 20.
[7] *Op. cit.* tom. ii. p. 699.
[8] *A Relation*, p. 8.

of Pirara[1]); the French *Voyage* above quoted[2] gives them a habitat early in the 17th century on the upper reaches of the Essequibo and contemporary Spanish documents speak of their strong alliance with the Dutch already in 1614[3]. Scott alludes to them in 1669 as hostile to the Akawois in the uplands of Guiana[4] and Humboldt tells us[5] that from the end of the 17th century onwards their chief habitat lay between the sources of the Carony, the Essequibo, the Orinoco and the Parime rivers.

In 1724 the Essequibo records take up the story; some of the nation were then, like the Akawois, living under the protection of the Dutch[6] and were a source of great advantage to the colony.

Throughout the whole of Storm's administration their services were freely invoked and readily (quite as often spontaneously) given. Storm himself says of them, "The nation of the Caribs are looked upon as nobles among the Indians. It is a very good thing to have them as allies or friends, for they render excellent services, but they are formidable enemies, capable of more bravery and resistance than one would think....We can rely upon them in case of need[7]." And rely upon them he does.

Though in 1750 he suggests that colonists be prohibited from selling them arms[8] he gladly accepts their offer to drive off the Wapisanas in 1753[9], and the following year has them warned of a threatened Spanish invasion[10]; the Caribs had, however, already killed the intruding Spaniards and burned their Mission in the Cuyuni[11], "so that we have

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[1] See pp. 182–184.

[2] *Voyage faict par les Pères de Familles* (Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., 179 B), *1624*.

[3] *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. p. 37.

[4] Brit. Mus., Sloane MSS., No. 3662.

[5] *Op. cit.* tom. ii. p. 395.

[6] Minutes of Court of Policy, *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 24.

[7] See p. 599.

[8] See p. 269.

[9] See p. 303.

[10] See p. 309.

[11] See p. 312.

nothing," says Storm, "to fear from that direction." In 1756 we have in the examination of a Carib chief by the Director-General a dramatic episode[1] in which is clearly shown Storm's admiration of the Indians and the moral pre-eminence of the latter over some none too honest colonists.

From 1758 to 1762, whilst Storm was carrying on a diplomatic correspondence with the Spanish Governors of Guayana[2] and getting the home government to back up his efforts it was the Caribs who were acting as the buffer between the Dutch colony and the Spanish aggressors[3]. At the beginning of 1763 there is a desire to play them off against the Manáos; fortunately for the Colony, they did not get the "good hiding" Storm wished them[4], for in that and the following year their aid in the Berbice rebellion was of no mean importance[5]. Storm's first estimate of and his subsequent admission of ignorance in 1764[6] as to their number is of interest, as are also his references to the "swarms of Caribs" at war with the Akawois in 1765, 1766, 1767 and 1768[7]. In 1767 they assisted in the re-establishment of the Cuyuni post[8], whilst in that and in the years following their aid was most useful in capturing negro rebels[9]. In March, 1769, the "Common Chief or Great Owl of the Caribs up in Essequibo" comes down to interview Storm; in May another arrives from Barima and the Director-General's reports[10] of his conversations with these men are most interesting; "a very large number" also come that year and settle in Mahaicony[11]. In 1770 Storm asks for fifty to watch the plantations[12]; these come

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[1] See pp. 346, 347.
[2] See pp. 95–98.
[3] See pp. 356, 358, 368 and 405.
[4] See p. 414.
[5] See pp. 438, 443 and 445–447.
[6] See p. 447.
[7] See pp. 487, 496, 500, 529, 557 and 583.
[8] See p. 518.
[9] See pp. 561–564, 576 and 577.
[10] See pp. 609, 610, 612 and 613.
[11] See p. 624.
[12] See p. 638.

readily enough[1] and when the general rising takes place in 1772[2] "they came down from all parts...three hundred strong" within a few days[3]; how these were rewarded for their services is on record[4].

Thenceforward there is but scant mention of the Caribs in the official records; the chief who came down to Georgetown in 1810[5] caused some stir, and this is not surprising, since Humboldt in 1820 estimated the number of independent Caribs living between the sources of the Essequibo and the Rio Branco at 5000:—

> "The fine Carib nation inhabits at the present day only a small part of the countries that it occupied at the time of the discovery of America. The cruelties exercised by Europeans have made it entirely disappear from the Antilles and the shores of the Darien, whilst, subjected to the rule of the Missions, it has formed populous villages in the Provinces of Nueva Barcelona and Spanish Guiana. I think that one may estimate the Caribs who inhabit the *Llanos* of Piritu and the banks of the Carony and Cuyuni at more than 35,000. If to this number be added the independent Caribs who live to the west of the mountains of Cayenne and of Pacaraymo, between the sources of the Essequibo and the Rio Branco, we should, perhaps, obtain a total mass of 40,000 individuals of pure race, unmixed with other native races. I insist the more upon these ideas, since before my voyage it was the custom to speak of the Caribs in many geographical works as of an extinct race[6]."

### *Manáos.*

The references to this tribe, though few in number, are of eminent interest, for its name was oftenest written Manoa and there is reason to connect it with one of the most famous myths of history—that of "Manoa the emperiall

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[1] See p. 640. [2] See pp. 664–669. [3] See pp. 664 and 666.
[4] See p. 669. [5] See p. 109.
[6] *Voyage aux Régions équinoxiales*, iii. p. 9.

Citie of Guiana which the Spanyardes cal el Dorado[1]," imaginarily situated on what was already known late in the 16th century as the Laguna de la Gran Manoa[2], to Storm as Lake Parima[3].

> "The researches of the most eminent traveller of our age, to whom every branch of physical science is indebted—the celebrated Humboldt—was the first who, by reasoning, founded upon personal experience and an inspection of every document relating to the regions which had been made the locality of this inland lake, proved the *non-existence* of this White Sea or Laguna de Parima[4]."

But there is never smoke without fire, and the above rather too emphatic reference made by Robert Schomburgk to Humboldt's conclusions is largely qualified by his brother Richard's more poetical and personal effusion on the same subject.

> "I still think back with quiet delight upon that first morning at Pirara, when, at break of day, I sprang out of my hammock and hastened out of the village, in order to be able to gaze across the wide, wide savannah undisturbed. I stood there upon ground to which many a legend and myth was attached—at my feet the 'Mar de aguas blancas,' the 'Mar del Dorado,' the Lake 'with gold-bearing shores,' and the 'Golden City of Manoa,' to which the boldest adventurers of Spain, Portugal, and England set out on their insane voyages already in the sixteenth century, to which the great and unfortunate Walter Raleigh undertook four expeditions between 1595 and 1617, and for which he managed to inflame the imagination, as well as the ambition of Queen Elizabeth to so high a degree. The small inland Lake of Amucu, the existence of which, as an extensive inland sea, in which the great rivers of South America, the Essequibo, the Orinoco,

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[1] Raleigh, *Discoverie of Guiana. 1596.*

[2] Schomburgk in his notes to Raleigh's *Guiana* (Hakl. Soc. Pub. iii. p. 17).

[3] See pp. 202, 208, 249 and 466.

[4] Schomburgk, *ut supra*, p. lii. The sentence, unfortunately, runs as we quote it, but its meaning is clear. The italics are ours.

and the Amazon were said to have their source, Alexander von Humboldt had already, at the beginning of this century, by means of his truly prophetic mind, exposed as a mere phantom which appeared eternally to escape, and yet incessantly to entice Spaniards, Portuguese, Englishmen, and even Germans, and which could not be driven from the maps even in the most recent times—this lake lay before me. But in vain did I look for its 'gold-bearing shores,' for the 'golden imperial city of Manoa': my eye rested only upon the dark rushes and giant grasses which inclosed its marshy shores and its waters, looking now so unimportant in the dry season of the year. Yet around me lay a landscape that delighted the soul in its innermost depths, a park of gigantic extent, bounded on the north by the bare range of Pacaraima, on the east by the isolated Makarapan Mountain, faintly outlined in the airy distance, on the south by an immense woody oasis, which begins pretty close to Pirara, whilst in the west the eye roamed unhampered across a boundless savannah, the extent of which was lost to view[1]."

Sir E. im Thurn—more concise, if less poetic—is also worth quoting as a quite modern authority.

"The level plain at my feet was the so-called Lake Amoocoo or Parima...the supposed site of the fabled golden city of El Dorado or Manoa....The so-called lake is almost throughout the year a dry plain, on which lines of æta palms mark the courses of streams, the overflowing of which in very wet seasons makes the 'lake'[2]."

Though Humboldt's researches led him to the conclusion that Raleigh's Lake Parima was none other than an imaginary lake formed by Lake Amucu[3] and occasional

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[1] *Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, i. p. 392. Cf. Note on pp. 115, 116.

[2] *Among the Indians of Guiana*, pp. 36, 37.

[3] It must not be forgotten that in this he was but following Keymis who already in *1596* had given the exact location of Lake Amucu as that of Manoa, simply lending the name of the river Rupununi to the lake to which it leads, and with which it is connected.

"The Indians to shew the worthines of Dessekeebe (for it is verie large and full of ilands in the mouth) do call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it into the head,

overflows of some affluents of the Uraricuera or Parime (a tributary of the Branco)[1] he draws attention[2] to the fact that in the 16th century there were two sites for El Dorado—one around our Lake Amucu, another in the ancient habitat of the Manáos, on the shores of the Jurubesh[3].

This brings us into touch with Ribeiro de Sampaio, whose statements concerning the Manáos are fuller than those we get from any other authority[4].

> "Between Lama longa[5] and Santa Isabel falls the little river Hiyaá, in olden times very thickly peopled with Manáos, and made famous as the dwelling-place of the wicked and formidable Ajuricaba...[6].

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they passe in twentie dayes: then taking their prouision they carie it on their shoulders one dayes journey: afterwards they returne for their canoas, and beare them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such bignesse, that they know no difference between it and the maine sea. There be infinite number of canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth." *A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana.*

Keymis evidently did not see that there might be some connexion between his "Iaos" (Man-iaos) and the name Manoa.

[1] *Voyage aux Régions équinoxiales*, tom. ii. p. 687.

[2] *Ib.* p. 680.

[3] It figures in modern maps of Brazil as the Urabaxi on the south side of the Rio Negro between Boa Vista and Santa Izabel. The search for this more southerly situated Golden City on a Great Lake will be found in *The Expedition of Pedro de Ursua and Lope de Aguirre* published by the Hakluyt Society in *1861*, in the masterly Introduction to which by Sir Clements Markham we are told that about the end of the 16th century the fable of the "Gran Laguna de Manoa began to find a resting-place amongst the periodically inundated plains between the rivers Rupununi, Essequibo, and Parima or Branco, in Guiana."

[4] Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio was Chief Magistrate and Intendant General of the Captaincy of S. José, in the Rio Negro, and the extract adduced above is from the Diary of a journey performed by him along the river in *1774* and *1775*. Fuller extracts are given in the *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* vol. i.

[5] To-day called Boa Vista.

[6] Cf. p. 25.

> "From this point forwards all the Rio Negro is full of most dangerous rocks....On the southern bank are the Mabu, the Urubaxi[1], communicating with the Jupura and peopled by the Macu tribe after it was abandoned by the Manáos[2]."

Throughout Sampaio's description of the Rio Negro there are very frequent allusions to the erstwhile power in that river of the Manáos and their relations with the Dutch, and these are corroborated in detail by older Portuguese documents. For instance, there is a letter extant from the Governor of the Maranhão to the King of Portugal in 1727 giving very fully the story of Ajuricaba and speaking of

> "the raids carried out by the Manaus Indians of the Rio Negro to the prejudice of Your Majesty's subjects as would appear from the investigations which I sent to Your Majesty with the said letter explaining the dealings which they carried on and the friendship which they kept up with the Dutch[3]."

And in a petition from the colonists of the Maranhão to the King in 1751 occur the words

> "there is no doubt that this trade (with the said Dutch) is still carried on, as is shown by the iron goods which are found in some settlements of those natives purchased from the Dutch themselves[4]."

This is as much as need be adduced concerning the Manáos from the Spanish or Portuguese side. We will now approach them from the Dutch side after drawing attention to the two following statements.

> "The Majanaos (Maanaos?), who are still found in our days to the south-east of Lake Amucu, have been confounded with the Manaos (Manoas) of the Jurubesh[5]."
>
> "According to a manuscript which we had in our hands while in Demerara, a tribe of Mahanaos is said to have

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[1] Humboldt's Jurubesh.

[2] *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 114.

[3] *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 24. [4] *Ib.* p. 54.

[5] Humboldt, *Op. cit.* ii. p. 687. The parentheses and contents are also Humboldt's.

> inhabited the tributaries of the Rio Branco, Takutu and Rupununi...and as those regions are annually inundated to a great extent, the great expanse of the inundation, which may have reached the villages of the Mahanaos, gave rise to the fable of the Laguna de Manoa, or del Dorado, or de Parima[1]."

In 1714 the Dutch West India Company sent detailed secret instructions to their Commander, Pieter van der Heyden Resen, to equip and despatch an expedition

> "to seek exact information, but in a careful and as guarded a manner as possible, concerning the nature and location of the towns of Lake Parime, and especially also concerning Manoa o Eldorado, or the Golden City, in what manner it may be reached, of what disposition the people there are, and how the same must be treated, according to which they will be able to regulate their acts as far as possible.
>
> "When the aforesaid persons shall have arrived at the chief town of Lake Parime, and also at the Golden City, they will have to act with great caution, and the one who is intrusted with the command and direction will have to inquire for the Chief of that place, and endeavour to see and to speak with him, if such may be done, and otherwise address himself to the other great men.
>
> "And he shall then represent to the same and make them believe that they have come there as friends, in order to deal in friendship with those people, and to establish a trade with them, with promises to bring them only such goods as they shall desire, and to that end offer them, as a proof and commencement, the goods which they have brought with them, and if they desire those goods, the same shall be sold to them, or exchanged for gold or silver, and for no other moneys than for gold and silver alone, and they shall endeavour to obtain from them as much of that mineral as can be got in a friendly manner[2]."

Though the complete silence of the records as to any effort to carry out the instructions has hitherto been re-

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[1] Robert Schomburgk in his notes to Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (Hakl. Soc. Pub. iii. p. 18).

[2] *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 16.

garded as indication of their non-execution we must point to the fact that those instructions contained the following paragraph:—

> "We have said above that we communicate this matter to you in all secrecy, which we must again repeat here, and we may further tell you, for your information, that this matter has only been discussed by the Directors to whom secret matters are especially committed, and who are very few in number, without any of the other Directors having for the present any knowledge thereof, wherefore you will have to exercise as much care as in you lies that the aforesaid plan is also kept secret on your side and that nothing concerning it is written hither and discovered. You will consequently have to address your letters touching these matters only to the Directors of the General Chartered West India Company in charge of secret matters and enclose the said letters in another envelope addressed to Den Heer Joan Althusius, Advocate of the General Company in Amsterdam[1]."

And when we read in the Dutch colonial records that the first coming of "Maganouts" (later styled Magnouws and Manoas) into Essequibo appears to have been in the year 1722 we are not so certain that van der Heyden Resen (who in 1719 had been succeeded by Laurens de Heere) did not actually open up relations with the natives around Lake Amucu (once styled Lake Parime)[2].

Their second advent in 1723, it is true, created a scare[3], but that was neither their fault nor that of the colonists, but "a political dodge of the Carib nation," as Storm tells us forty years later[4].

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[1] *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 15.

[2] Many references to the "Maganouts" have been noted and even printed, but never published; they occur in the Minutes of the Court of Policy, Essequibo (extant in the Rijksarchief, The Hague) under date of *Jan. 5*, *April 10*, *Sept. 20*, *Oct. 4* and *19*, *1723*; others of later date have been reproduced in the *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* tom. i.

[3] *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 20.

[4] See p. 464.

> "So far as we have been able to discover they came to trade in slaves...; moreover, not the slightest hostile act was indulged in, although, *according to reports*, they had previously threatened to come and kill us and eat us, but we saw well enough by their equipment that they were not in a position to do that[1]."

In spite of the evidence of their senses, the colonists seem to have treated the poor Manáos pretty badly, though just at this juncture we get, curiously enough, the well-authenticated story of Ajuricaba, the Manáo chief, flying the Dutch flag and defying the Portuguese in their own waters[2].

Repelled no doubt by the rough reception accorded them in 1723 the "Maganouts" are not again heard of until 1754, when Storm mentions them as being in league with the Portuguese[3]; in 1762 they are reported to him as dissatisfied with the treatment they receive from those allies and as desirous of making a commercial treaty with the Dutch[4]. He encourages them and hopes that the Caribs, who intend to oppose them, may get a good hiding[5]; but the Manáos are not mentioned again until Storm in 1764 tells the Directors regretfully how forty years earlier they were "so injudiciously and childishly driven away, badly treated and for ever estranged from us that the efforts made to enter into communication with them have hitherto proved fruitless[6]." The *rapprochement*

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[1] Despatch from Court of Policy, Essequibo, June 15, 1724. *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 23.

That they came to trade in slaves is corroborated by the story of Ajuricaba (see p. 25); the reports alluded to by the scared councillors were those spread by the Caribs referred to by Storm.

[2] See p. 25. [3] See p. 314.

[4] See p. 414. Here for the first time Storm refers to them as "the tribe of Manoas (usually called Magnouws here)."

[5] *Ib.*

[6] See p. 464. The fame of gold-bearing appears to have clung to

desired in 1762 was therefore evidently not completed. After that we get only one or two unsubstantiated reports[1] concerning what Ribeiro de Sampaio in 1775[2] and Spix and Martius fifty years later[3] declare to have been once the most powerful nation on the Rio Negro.

One word more. El Dorado explains itself—Manoa does not. Since in Raleigh's time there was already a settlement of Indians (*teste* Keymis they were Iaos) on a great lake occasioned by the overflowing of Lake Amucu, since, according to Humboldt and Schomburgk respectively, Majanaos or Mahanaos were settled there, such settlement must have been spoken of *either* as the Town of the Manáos on the Lake (and let us not forget that the Dutch transliteration of Manáos was Maganouts, Magnouws and Manoas) *or* as the Town on the Great Lake—great lake being in old Portuguese *lago magno, lago magnho, lago manho, lagoa magna, lagoa magnha* or *lagoa manha.*

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them for very many years, for whereas Humboldt (*Op. cit.* ii. p. 448) records the following fact

> Des Indiens Manaos (c'est le mot Manoa, en déplaçant les voyelles, comme font tant de nations américaines) portoient au père Fritz, en 1687, beaucoup de lames d'or battu

Storm now tells his Directors that "the Portuguese in Brazil are indebted to this tribe for the discovery of the gold and diamonds." This only tends to strengthen our belief in their relation to the Manoa myth.

[1] See pp. 555 and 618.

[2] See *Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 113.

[3] *Reise in Brasilien*, iii. p. 1295.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

DESPATCHES WRITTEN BY

LAURENS STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE

TO THE

DIRECTORS OF THE ZEELAND CHAMBER
OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

1738—1772

No literary perfection is aimed at in the English rendering of the despatches; it will be sufficient if in the more interesting extracts the reader finds Storm's plain, vigorous Dutch fairly reproduced. In passages of geographical or political importance the translation has been as literal as grammatical exigencies would allow.

Many points not annotated may be elucidated or followed up by consulting the Index, upon the preparation of which some care has been bestowed.

P.R.O. 466/35[1]

Carthabo, Rio Essequibo, August 12, 1738.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs[2],

After the humble assurance of my dutiful respect and high esteem I have the honour to inform Your Honours[3] of the safe arrival of myself and family in Rio Essequibo, having been transhipped with the Company's goods at St Eustatius upon two English barques and been three weeks under way from that island, so that my voyage took altogether seventeen weeks and three days, a tedious voyage certainly, but one that I should have little regretted had I not been so unfortunate as to chance upon an exceptionally uncivil and impertinent captain, Lodewijk Wielix, who not only possesses but exerted every attribute to convince us that he is one of the most obstinate and impertinent mariners; I will narrate none of the details, fearing to weary YY. HH. with the recital[4].

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[1] i.e. Public Record Office, London. *Colonial Office Transmissions*, No. 466, Document 35. See Note 3 on p. 5 and especially p. 400.

[2] *Edele Groot Achtbaere Heeren.*

[3] *U.E.G.A.* (an abbreviated variation of the superscription) is used throughout the despatches for the second person plural. The English form here adopted for the sake of brevity is exactly that which is still much used in Dutch when deference is shown.

[4] In the translation of this, the first of Storm's despatches home, an attempt has been made to reproduce closely the fulness and length of his periods; in later despatches it will often be necessary to break up the sentences for the sake of clearness.

I was received by the Commander[1] with much civility and friendliness, he doing all that is in his power to make my stay here a pleasant one. He has been pleased to give me a rank in Court in accordance with the resolution passed by YY. HH. upon the establishment of the Court of Policy in 1718 and has given me the same rank in the Court of Justice. None of the Councillors present showed the least displeasure thereat, but as the Old Councillor[2] of Justice Mr Abraham Buisson greatly objects I take the liberty of begging YY. HH. to be so good as to approve of the Commander's measures, having no doubt that he carried out Your Honours' intentions, since the first rank in the Court of Policy was conferred upon me by Your Honours' resolution, and since, according to the general custom in all colonies and according to all reason the Court of Policy, the members of which are appointed directly by YY. HH. and the functions of which also touch Your Honours' interests directly, should rank higher than the Court of Justice. Moreover, when the Commander himself was Secretary he held that rank and was maintained therein by Your Honours' orders, wherefore I have reason to hope that YY. HH. will be pleased to show me the same favour.

I trust I may be permitted to submit to YY. HH. a few observations which I have made during the short time I have been here. First, concerning the militia, which is in a very bad state, going about almost naked; it is true that they can get what they want from the Honble. Co.'s shop, but that they only use to waste in drink and other evil courses. If YY. HH. would have the goodness to

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[1] Hermanus Gelskerke (see p. 35).

[2] "Old" Councillors, though no longer regularly attending, appear to have been occasionally summoned to the Court Meetings and to have had a voice in public affairs. Cf. p. 417.

provide them with a kit (deducting five shillings[1] a month from their pay) they would always be much better clothed and be in pocket by it themselves, whilst it would be more in keeping with the Company's honour, since they now look more like a band of beggars than Your Honours' soldiers; it is also very sad that we have none but Popish men upon whom we cannot depend in the least in time of need. Secondly, concerning the new fort, which I do not think will ever be completed so long as timber is used for its construction, for when the palisades are set up on one side those on the other side, being rotten, fall over, thus causing tedious and bootless work, whilst if it were constructed of bricks, which are now being baked here, it could soon be completed. No engineer would be required, for I having learnt that art would always exert all my zeal and industry to the utmost extent to further Your Honours' interests without claiming any other reward for my trouble than that of serving YY. HH. and of being able to give YY. HH. satisfaction. I have, so far as the difficulty of taking up my duties has permitted it, examined the nature of the soil and its products and have found much that was hitherto unknown. Sarsaparilla[2], gutta gamba[3], radix China[4], aloes and other drugs are here in abundance; the tree on which the cochineal feeds grows here uncultivated,

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[1] The Dutch shilling (*schelling*) was equivalent to sixpence of British currency.

[2] "*Smilax officinalis H.B.K.* The root of sarsaparilla was brought to Europe in about *1530*. The stem is twining, shrubby, and prickly." Note by Sir Clements Markham in *Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon* (Hakl. Soc. Ser. I. vol. xxxiii. p. 200).

[3] "*Gum Gutta*, or *Gutta Gamba*, *Gamboge*, *Gamandra*, or the *Peruvian Gum* is a gum that flows from the trunk of a creeping plant." Pomet, *History of Drugs*, i. 176. London, *1748*.

[4] "The Persians and Arabs call the cinnamon of Seylan *dar Chiny Seylany*, that is, 'wood of the Chinamen of Seylan'; because, when the Chinamen sailed those seas, and held that trade, they

but as it is the rainy season I have not yet been able to discover whether that insect is to be found upon it. There is excellent wood here for dyeing purposes and I have also seen some of great use to joiners and turners. Without doubt metals must be here, and I ascribe the unhealthiness which prevails in the Upper Cuyuni, and the green film which is always on the waters there, to nothing else than the abundance of mineral matter in the mountains there; the taste of the little brooks flowing therefrom demonstrates this clearly; but we should require at least two expert miners to discover it. I shall do everything in my power by means of Indians to make some further discoveries. I hope this may prove of some use and profit for YY. HH., and then I shall deem my trouble and work well requited[1].

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brought it from Seylan to Harmuz or Keis, and to Persia. They call our jungle cinnamon *kerfah*, and what we call China wood, the Persians call *chub Chiny*, that is 'China root.'" *Travels of Pedro Teixeira* (Hakl. Soc. Ser. II. vol. ix. p. 236).

[1] This paragraph appears to have aroused the particular interest of the Directors, as their reply* dated *26 February*, *1739*, testifies.

"And our attention has in no less degree been aroused by the Secretary's writing that he is persuaded that minerals are to be found in the mountains up in the River Cuyuni. We know no reasons, moreover, why this should not be so, and have ourselves for many years been persuaded thereof; but the first question is whether he, the Secretary, can find out where work should begin, in order to detect them, and what is his impression of those mountains, whether they are of earth or wholly of rock, in order that the miners, in case we send them, might be guided as to the tools they should take with them.

"And, in the second place, we must also know whether, in case this work should be undertaken, you would be in condition to maintain yourself against the natives, if any are there or are to be looked for. We shall not hesitate to send you two able miners, if you can offer us a prospect of success, but without that the Company cannot afford to lay out needless costs at great risk, for the reasons adduced by the Secretary for his belief in this matter may be well grounded, and still it might be impossible of execution. In the meantime, we earnestly recommend you to lend the Secretary a helping hand as to everything he thinks he can discover, and as to what he may need to that end; and we promise him and you also that we will show you our ap-

* Concerning the form of the Directors' replies it is interesting to note Storm's remarks made in *1771* (pp. 645, 646). Cf. also p. 200.

These few remarks I have thought it my duty as a faithful servant of YY. HH. to communicate, trusting that YY. HH. will be pleased to take my zeal in good part and will be so good as to feel assured that all my life I shall with the most humble respect and high esteem be and remain,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

I have the honour to enclose herewith in accordance with Your Honours' orders the journal of my voyage and hope YY. HH. will have received my letter sent from St Eustatius by Captain Houwert.

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preciation of your success by a grant of a percentage of the profits. If by this ship we could receive some ore, so as to have it assayed here, this, in case of a good result, would stimulate us the more."

Already on *20 May, 1739*, Gelskerke and Storm, in their joint letter home, were able to report:

"We have the honour to despatch to YY. HH. by this vessel a case marked with Your Honours' mark No. 1, wherein you will find some ores specified in the accompanying list. We trust that they after being proved may be found to be worthy of the trouble of opening and setting forth the mines for Your Honours' advantage."

And from a further despatch dated *15 September* of the same year Storm is seen to have been personally active.

"Now that the rainy season is drawing to an end, the second of the Undersigned is getting ready to make a journey with Mr de Vries, shortly after the departure of this ship, up the River Cuyuni, to the high mountains here called the Blue Mountains; for the blue colour and the unwholesomeness of the waters of that river sufficiently assure him that the mountains through which it runs must be very rich in metals—of what kind he will as far as possible try to find out."

P.R.O. 466/86

September 8, 1739.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Having learnt from Mr Commander Gelskerke that YY. HH. have been pleased to resolve to have the New Fort constructed of brickwork I proceeded thither[1] and had the ground examined to a depth of eight feet, and found that it consisted of hard firm clay and well able to carry the heaviest masonry. The bricks required for the purpose being made here in sufficient quantities all that is wanted would be lime and cement; the former could be got from Barbados, whence I think it would be more advantageously procured than from home, since it would stand us at only a guilder per hogshead. The cement required for the foundations we should have to send home for.

The necessary materials being on Flag Island, I would undertake, should YY. HH. be pleased to charge me with the work (and should it please the Lord to preserve me in health), to complete the same within a period of two years. It could be done in a shorter time, but the palisades that now form part of the fort would necessarily have to be transferred to the lowest crown-work[2] in the river in order to stop the washing away which even now threatens that work with imminent destruction. This and the construction of sluices would run away with a deal of time and in addition to that not much brickwork can be laid in the rainy season.

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[1] i.e. to Flag Island, for the position of which see the Map.

[2] "A crown-work is composed of a bastion between two curtains... terminated by half-bastions. It is joined to the body of the place by two long sides." Griffiths, *Artillerist's Manual, 1839.*

Nevertheless I consider it my duty as a faithful servant to inform YY. HH. (not knowing whether such has already been done) that I, so far as my limited knowledge extends, cannot see that the aforesaid fortress would, in case of war, be able to safeguard the river against a hostile invasion, since between Trouille Island and the mainland there is yet another passage known to me through which vessels can very well pass and I think there is still another between the islands; to close these passages the Fort is of no use at all. It were desirable that the colonists had the sense to keep this quiet, but it is sufficiently well known. These two passages could easily be stopped by two well-armed half galleys which (provided we had a ship's carpenter) might be made here; then all the approaches would be completely closed.

Having the honour to write concerning the minerals[1] and drugs in my letter with the Commander I shall not dilate upon that in this one.

I hope YY. HH. will be pleased not to take it amiss if I make so bold as to trouble YY. HH. here with a few lines concerning Your Honours' shop. I can assure YY. HH. that since my arrival here I have lost quite 150 guilders over it, this arising from the fact that of all goods measured by the ell, Flemish linen alone excepted, none has the length invoiced. I have received pieces of Osnaburgh which were 19¼ ells short and could send sworn affidavits thereof. I have nevertheless entered all in the books according to invoice, hoping and relying upon Your Honours' kindness and magnanimity that YY. HH. will be good enough to relieve me of this irksome and unprofitable yoke (of little importance to YY. HH.) or to have the things carefully examined at home. Whichever YY. HH. be pleased to think better I shall all my life endeavour to

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[1] See Note on p. 197.

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prove that I am with the deepest respect and consideration and with untiring zeal for Your Honours' interests,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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*When Storm had written the foregoing despatches he found that the Company sent no reply addressed directly to him; this fact appears to have caused him a little chagrin, for he alludes to it even after the lapse of more than thirty years*[1]. *From September, 1739, to March, 1741, we therefore find no despatch of his other than those he signed together with the Commander or with the other Councillors of the Court of Policy; those joint despatches had by far not the interest of his own. In a letter dated March 11, 1741, Gelskerke, the Commander, asked the Directors for his discharge, his intention having already been communicated to the Court of Policy on February 5. Storm probably thought the moment opportune to resume individual relations with his chiefs in Zeeland by a fairly long letter, from which the following is but a short extract.*

P.R.O. 466/149

March 12, 1741.

(Extract)

I take the liberty, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, respectfully to beg Your Honours' favour to allow me to succeed to the commandership. The inner conviction that I have never neglected my duty in the least, have always done my best for and sought with the utmost zeal the welfare and interest of the Honourable Company emboldens me so to do, I having the honour to assure

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[1] See pp. 645, 646.

YY. HH. that I shall put forth every endeavour and all my strength to give YY. HH. complete satisfaction and to do my duty as an honest man.

It is not by long service that I can claim that favour, having had the honour of serving YY. HH. only three years, but I rely alone upon Your Honours' magnanimity and kindness.

Should YY. HH. be pleased to favour me there is here, in Your Honours' service, one perfectly competent to occupy my post, Mr Adriaen Spoors, Manager of "De Pelgrim[1]," who in his duties has always shown himself to be a perfectly honest and capable man.

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*On November 3, 1739, Nicolas Horstman, a surgeon in the W. I. Co.'s employ, had been despatched upon the expedition described in the Introduction (pp. 61–63). It was not until seventeen months later that Storm, having, on Gelskerke's death (July 16, 1742), been provisionally appointed Commander by the Councillors in Essequibo, was able to report as follows:—*

P.R.O. 466/170

April 30, 1741.

(Extract)

This is only to inform YY. HH. that on the 3rd of this month, April, Jacques Donacq, Postholder of Your Honours' trading-place up in Essequibo, arrived here, coming expressly to report that one of the Indians of that Post who accompanied Nicolaes Horstman had returned, being sent by Horstman himself with information that a very good

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[1] The Company had at that time three plantations, "De Pelgrim" "Duynenburg" and "Poelwijk."

journey had been made, and that he had traded away all the goods given to him; that his mate Christiaen Rijst, was on his way to come here by water, but that he had considered it necessary to remain up the river, where he had planted the flag and cleared bread-gardens. Since his instructions permitted the exchange of no goods except for gold, silver, or gems, I have good hope (if that Indian's statement can be relied upon) that that journey will turn out a great success, which would give me unspeakable joy. I hope that Christiaen Rijst, whom we are daily expecting, will be here before the departure of "De Jonge Daniel" (which is fixed for to-day six weeks), in order that we may have the honour of giving YY. HH. a circumstantial report of that journey. I hope that Almighty God may grant me the mercy of succeeding in my efforts to lay before my honoured masters a great and real advantage.

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*Storm's disillusionment is mirrored in the following despatch.*

P.R.O. 466/230

February 8, 1742.

(Extract)

It would have been very agreeable to me if I could have given YY. HH. agreeable news concerning the journey undertaken by the Surgeon Nicholas Horstman and Christiaan Rijst to the Lake of Parima; but I must, to my regret, have the honour to inform YY. HH. that the four creoles who made the journey with the aforesaid Horstman arrived here on the 25th November and reported to me that on their arrival in Lake Parima the

Surgeon Nicholas Horstman had navigated to the Portuguese, notwithstanding that a good compass and a map of the country had been given in his charge; that he had dwelt for some time with a priest on a river flowing to the town of Para; that the Governor of Para being informed thereof, had caused them to be fetched, and that when they came into that town the aforesaid Nicholas Horstman and Christiaan Rijst had entered into the Portuguese service, whilst the four creoles were placed in gaol to constrain them also to abide there. The latter, however, being again discharged, had found means in the night, with a small vessel, to get across the Amazon, and having suffered hardships for about five months on the way, finally arrived here again, whilst Horstman has probably sold to the Portuguese all the wares (little of which had been traded away).

This unexpected conduct of the aforesaid Nicholas Horstman, (who was a Protestant) and showed himself to be a great lover of such undertakings, and, moreover, had all the outward bearing of an honourable man, has greatly astonished me, and I shall leave to Your Honours' consideration how necessary it will be that these two dishonourable cheats should be got hold of in order that they may be punished rigorously as an example to others, whereof possibly a good opportunity may come to be found by means of Their High Mightinesses'[1] Ambassador to the Court of Portugal[2].

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[1] So were the States-General always alluded to.

[2] Horstman's own account of his expedition is given on pp. 168–174.

P.R.O. 467/60

April 21, 1743.

(Extracts)

...In the first place I beg to thank YY. HH. most heartily for what YY. HH. have been pleased to send by this vessel, which could never have come more opportunely, since there being not the least thing in the world left in Your Honours' warehouse and nothing to be got in the whole of the river I did not know what to do for the rations that I have to deal out next Saturday; this placed me in the greatest difficulty, from which I am now released by Your Honours' goodness.

. . . . .

I have the honour respectfully to thank YY. HH. for the approval of my provisional appointment[1] and hope to be able to have the good fortune to tender YY. HH. my thanks for the definite one by "De Jonge Daniel," repeating my already so oft-made assurance that I shall use all my strength and means to give YY. HH. satisfaction in every way and, with the blessing of The Most High, to bring the Colony and Your Honours' plantations to a flourishing state, my thoughts night and day being directed to that end.

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P.R.O. 467/71

Oct. 2, 1743.

(Extract)

There are now already seven English plantations in this Colony and I am daily expecting still more planters who intend to establish themselves here. Several people from Surinam have also let me know that they had the

[1] See p. 201. His definite appointment was resolved upon in Zeeland on *April 13, 1743*.

intention to do likewise; I therefore hope that with the blessing of The Most High this Colony will in a few years be brought into a flourishing condition.

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*The long despatch of 41 closely-written folio pages from which the following extracts are taken was, like so many others, indited at various times—and in various moods, influenced, no doubt, by the varying circumstances of the Colony, the arrival, often too long delayed, of ships from home, the demands of planters, or the rising of slaves.*

P.R.O. 467/80

April 1, 1744.

(Extracts)

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

I have already embraced the opportunity viâ Barbados of tendering YY. HH. my heartfelt gratitude for the honour YY. HH. have been pleased to confer upon me in appointing me Commander of this Colony. I hope that my behaviour hereafter may never cause YY. HH. to repent this appointment for, with the blessing of the Lord, I shall exert all my endeavours to further Your Honours' interests and the welfare of this Colony. The actual proofs which I hope to be able to give hereof in the future will convince YY. HH. better than my words can do, wherefore I shall not dilate further thereupon, but proceed to answer Your Honours' much esteemed letters.

The appointment of Mr Spoors as Secretary in my stead[1] has given me real and true satisfaction and I cannot

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[1] This was upon Storm's recommendation. See p. 201. Cf. also pp. 37, 38 and especially pp. 163, 164.

refrain from expressing my thanks to YY. HH. for the same. For I am convinced that great profit and advantage will accrue to the Honourable Company therefrom and that I shall get much assistance and support from the said gentleman in bringing everything to the condition in which it should be, he being in all matters of the same way of thinking as myself.

I can very well understand that YY. HH. are not inclined to maintain the Colony upon the same footing as heretofore, since that entails much more loss than profit both in regard to the Colony in general and to Your Honours' possessions therein in particular. It will however require much industry and labour to bring matters into the condition in which they ought to have been already a long time. To make at one sweep all the changes that are necessary is well nigh impossible and I find out daily how much labour it costs to right old and rooted abuses. I have made a beginning with Your Honours' plantations and since YY. HH. have been so kind as to approve my suggestions I am fully assured that YY. HH. will soon see and experience an appreciable difference. I have issued fresh regulations to the managers and to those they will have to conform exactly. I had a good deal of trouble to get them passed by the Court of Policy since Manager Monk declared that he would rather apply for his discharge than conform to them, but he was finally brought round and convinced after much argument, and I shall be very careful to see that they continue to be observed to the letter.

. . . . .

It is very agreeable to me that YY. HH. have been good enough to approve the measures taken with regard to the deserters. The desertion has not only cost YY. HH. much money, but in itself it constituted a clearly visible danger for this Colony, for had it remained unnoticed, their place of abode would have become a permanent hiding-place for

all the slaves who might have a desire to run away, for which only too many had made up their minds.

This is also the reason why I did not rest, and spared no promises or threats to obtain either alive or dead the three remaining [deserters], by all of which means I moved the Indians of Barima at last with much trouble to make an attack; the first time they failed, but the second time they were successful and under command of the Jew, Moses Isaakse de Vries, broke their necks and brought their hands here, which I caused to be nailed to a post, as a warning to others.

The Chief of the Indians aforesaid has offered to become responsible to me for all the runaway slaves of the Colony who take the way to Orinoco if I will station a Postholder in Barima, which would be a matter of great utility for the purchase of vessels and slaves; but I have not dared to undertake this without Your Honours' orders.

. . . . .

It gives me great pleasure that I am able to congratulate YY. HH. upon the completion of the New Fort, which is now quite finished with the exception of the crown-work, which I must leave until I have received some cement from home. I have had the good fortune to raise this work up from the very ground with much labour and to bring it to completion in one year and a half and in such a state of defence that I am well assured no enemy will dare to attack it. It would in no wise become me to praise it and I must trust myself to the reports which YY. HH. will receive about it from others, but this I may say—that it gave general satisfaction to all the colonists who, upon the day when I was presented to them as Commander, named the fort "Zeelandia." Their satisfaction was so great that they offered me of their own free will to continue furnishing their slaves for the erection of the dwellings and warehouse which I am obliged to have

made, which generous offer will enable me to make an end of the work very speedily. It has cost me many a night's sleep and many a wetting to bring matters as far as this, for they would never have progressed so quickly had I not always been present and had everything under my eye, but I have been doubly repaid for my trouble by the universal satisfaction of the colonists.

The said fort consists of a redoubt fifty feet square, the wall of which will stand against the heaviest ordnance. There are two stories, the lower serving as a warehouse for provisions and holding also a safe powder magazine; the upper story, in which are the soldiers' quarters, has also a room for the non-commissioned officers and a flat roof (whence the sentinel has a very far reaching view) the parapet of which, 3½ feet high, is provided with mortars and swivel-guns. Each story is furnished with 20 portholes, where lie two- and three-pounders, and the roof is so solid that it is proof against bombs.

All around the said redoubt the ramparts, where before there were palisades, are protected by a stout wall both on the in- and outside, with 20 feet of earth between the two; all the way round on the inside is a banquette[1] for the soldiers and good batteries for the guns. The four buttresses have been dug out on the inside and built up in the same manner, each buttress being capable of holding ten pieces of cannon. On the crown-work I have sunk the ground so much that the guns can fire along the water-line, so that no vessel can pass without being exposed to three lines of fire, one above the other. The moat is walled and furnished with a good drawbridge at the land-gate. Before the middle of the water-fort is a convenient landing-place and a crane, where the biggest vessels that come here can lie and discharge without other craft being required.

[1] A raised way running along the inside of a rampart or parapet, on which soldiers stand to fire (*New Eng. Dict.*).

If YY. HH. will kindly look at the first plan for the erection of the fortress it will be found that it was in no wise intended to abandon the old Fort Kijkoveral. The latter is also of the utmost necessity, since it has now been made clear that a foe can indeed enter the river without passing the New Fort, in which case the river above it would lie exposed. It is my intention to proceed with the repairs of Kijkoveral as soon as "De Jonge Daniel" has left and I think it will not mean more than four weeks' work[1].

YY. HH. are pleased to write that in Your Honours' opinion the scarcity of bread will be relieved by the arrival of "De Goude Spoor"; this has surprised me greatly, since neither the aforesaid ship nor "De Jonge Daniel" has helped us in the least in this matter. If these vessels had brought a few barrels of rye-flour it would have occasioned much joy, for in truth I cannot express to YY. HH. the difficulty in which I sometimes am. If it were for our households alone it would not matter so much, since we sometimes get assisted by one good friend or another, although I can assure YY. HH. with truth that I have often not a morsel of bread in the house and that my children have even cried for a crust that I could not give them. The workpeople and soldiers, however, do not ask whether there is any, but say (as is really the case) "We cannot live without bread." Full two years will have to pass before the Colony is itself again, since everyone is obliged to cut his crop of bread too early through want of it, and this then yields at most but half of what it otherwise should do. Your Honours' bread plantation[2] has at the

[1] Four years later Storm's views on this matter had changed completely. See p. 235.

[2] Bread was the name commonly given to the cassava grown for the slaves' rations. The officials received rations of flour and rye-meal sent from Europe.

"The one staple vegetable food of the Indians is afforded by the roots of the cassava-plant (*Manihot utilissima*), which are made into

present moment an abundant crop, but the earliest being only eleven months old, whilst it should be at least fourteen months old to be ripe, I dare not have it touched, since I should then again fall into want. We have still to pay twenty guilders for a barrel of bread and then it is only to be got by begging and praying. It is to be got neither by buying nor by borrowing, and had I not already for some time past dealt out half rations of flour we should have been for already eight or nine months as we are now, that is, without a morsel of bread. To-day is ration-day and as I write this I have not a piece of bread nor a grain of flour, so that I am in the greatest difficulty and know not what I am to give the men.

. . . . .

The almost universal demand for discharge has done the Honourable Company unutterable harm, since everyone let matters go as they would and no one saw to anything. This caused me many an hour of grief and made me keep down many a hard word, for all my remonstrances were in vain, and ofttimes I told the late Commander that whoever should come in his place would have to be half devil and half human to bring everything back into its proper state. The "Poelwijk" slaves (the best the Honourable Company has) have been allowed to get into so wild a state that I was compelled, immediately after Malgraef's appointment as manager, to send the Commandant there with a detachment of soldiers because they rebelled when order was to be brought amongst them again. It looked at one moment as if we should be obliged

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bread, like oatcakes, by most of the tribes; into farine, a rough sort of meal, by others." (im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana, 1883*, p. 260.)

"The cassava-plant is of the same family as the tree (*Manihot Gwaziovii*) that produces the rubber shipped from Brazil under the name of Ceara rubber." (André, *A Naturalist in the Guianas, 1904*, p. 289.)

to shoot a few down, but fortunately the matter went off better, and after the ringleaders had been severely punished and placed upon other plantations the rest were brought back to their duty and everything is now in proper order.

. . . . .

The state of the Colony grows more flourishing daily; several mills are in course of construction and it is evident that the yield of sugar will become extraordinarily large. The English who have already established themselves[1] here spare neither trouble, industry nor cost, and most of the planters are already beginning to follow their example. Several who intend to settle here are still expected, for the grounds in Barbados and Antigoa are completely exhausted and expenses are much heavier there than here. Several Jewish families in Surinam have sought my permission to settle here but I have refused to allow it until I am informed of Your Honours' intention in the matter[2]. There is much for and against their establishment here, but I believe the advantages would outweigh the drawbacks. The planting

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[1] See pp. 204 and 213.

[2] That Storm was not animated by prejudice, that he was not even following his own inclination in refusing this permission is proved by his next sentence; he had, moreover, but a few years before (see p. 197) contemplated a prospecting journey up the Cuyuni in the company of Moses Isaakse de Vries (the colonist who had proved so useful but a few days before, see p. 207), and as long after as *1772* (see p. 659) the Director-General spoke warmly of the industry and good work of this first Jewish settler in Essequibo.

Upon the abandonment of Brazil by the Dutch in the middle of the 17th century many hundreds of Jews who had been established there proceeded to Guiana; some settled on the Pomeroon and made it a flourishing colony (*Description of Guayana* by John Scott. *Brit. Mus. Sloane MSS.* 3662); others, under one David Nassy, were granted a charter in *1659* by the West India Company to enjoy "liberty of conscience, with the public exercise thereof...both in the district of this colony (Guiana) and in all other places of our domains." In *1685* the first synagogue was erected on the Upper Surinam River, in a district known as the Jews' Savannah, and under the above charter similar privileges might have been claimed, instead of being petitioned

of cocoa and coffee is falling off entirely; indeed, so much so that no more coffee is to be got for consumption, but this falling off is doubly compensated for by the profitable cultivation and better treatment of sugar.

Did Almighty God grant that tranquillity, peace and concord might one day become firmly established here we could then with justice hope that this Colony might in a few years become one of the most flourishing in these regions, since everything seems to tend towards that end. The bad condition of the neighbouring colonies, the zeal that now begins to animate the colonists on seeing their grounds, which were formerly valueless, rising to high prices, the exceptional salubrity of this district, whither invalids from neighbouring regions come expressly to recuperate, the exceeding fertility of the soil which really outstrips belief (proper treatment having until now only been wanting)—in a word, everything here is so circumstanced that only one thing, the fear of God, is wanting to make this one of the most blessed regions of the earth. Whatever care or trouble I take to restore the concord so greatly to be desired is almost all in vain, there being one or two restless spirits who make it their work to render my efforts fruitless and although I have reason to flatter myself that I am generally beloved I have until now been unable to succeed.

The non-supply of slaves is another matter that greatly

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for, in Essequibo*. But in Surinam there unfortunately prevailed between the years *1740* and *1750* a certain amount of anti-Semitism (see Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 385) and Storm was evidently reluctant to admit amongst his already quarrelsome colonists a further possible cause of trouble. The application appears to have been renewed in *1753* (see p. 301) and again in *1772* (see p. 659) but nothing came of it during the Dutch occupation.

* *An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana.* S. Oppenheim (*Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, *1907*). *Holland and Some Jews.* J. A. J. de Villiers. London, *1908*.

retards the rapid growth of this Colony. The want thereof is so great that YY. HH. would never believe it and if no remedy be found it will always remain an immovable obstacle in the way of all progress.

. . . . .

The congregation that meets here on Sundays for divine worship is now so large that the place usually set apart for it in my house, although 30 feet long and 25 feet wide, has become much too small, all the people being unable to find room there, wherefore I take the liberty of asking Your Honours' permission to have a separate building put up, 60 feet long and 40 wide. It has already long been repugnant to me that the same place in which divine worship is held must often be used for meals or festive gatherings, such use being incompatible with the respect due to the place. I have entered a bell upon the requisition in the event of YY. HH. being pleased to sanction the proposed building.

. . . . .

After I had written thus far there arrived here Messrs J. Gibbs, W. Caddel and J. Panter, three of the principal inhabitants of Barbados, bringing with them fifty slaves, six carpenters, six masons and everything necessary for plantations. They are already constructing water-mills on their plantations and intend, on the arrival of slave-ships, to reinforce each plantation to the number of 300 slaves; such exceptional growth will bring this Colony exceptional profit. These gentlemen are being followed by Lieutenant-General Baxter, Colonel West and Mr Husband, who likewise intend to lay out plantations here; I expect them every day[1].

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[1] Already in *October, 1743*, Storm had reported that there were seven English plantations in Essequibo (see p. 204) and had been

P.R.O. 467/124

Febr. 11, 1745.

(Extracts)

Since [the middle of January] we have been in constant expectation of the arrival of "De Goude Spoor," the continued delay of which causes me and the whole River[1] the greatest embarrassment, since there is a general dearth of everything—no victuals, no ammunition, the warehouses already long empty, the smithies at a standstill for want of coal and iron, the "Poelwijk" mill (which should have commenced crushing in March) not progressing for want of cement, and on top of this the anxiety concerning the condition of affairs in Europe—all this brings me to my wits' end and in despair how to arrange matters. The expenses which I am obliged to incur for the upkeep of the establishments, servants, militia and plantations run so high that I am really reduced to the utmost difficulty and if we had no supplies from the English (though these are but small and dear) we should all very long since have been brought to making shift with a crust of dry bread and a draught of water. The approach of each ration-day makes me perspire, for I know not what to do, and for two distributions now I have been unable to give the slaves the least thing, which is really very hard for them and makes them unwilling.

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praised by the Directors for his successful efforts in encouraging foreigners to settle in the Colony. These were principally Englishmen from Barbados and other islands (see p. 211) whose industry and methods were emulated by the Dutch colonists and who enjoyed the same rights as Netherlanders; it is therefore not surprising to find in the Register for *1762* (the first compiled) 34 plantations in Demerara and eight in Essequibo having British owners. Cf. also pp. 39, 40.

[1] Meaning all the colonists.

In addition to this, such retardment means a loss to the whole Colony, already estimated at more than ten thousand guilders, by reason of the sugar turning and the cane rotting; Mr Boter, for his share alone, has suffered a loss of two thousand guilders. For the rest, Your Honours' plantations are in very good condition; "Duynenburg" and "De Pelgrim" have already a good stock of sugar and on all three the cane gives very good promise. The dearth of bread, as I already had the honour to report, is over, the bread plantation[1] having already supplied several rations in full and being well stocked for the next.

. . . . .

Having written this so far and ready to close it I received the exceedingly welcome tidings (whilst I was up the river) that "De Goude Spoor" had arrived, this news causing me to descend in the utmost haste, and I have just time to inform YY. HH. of the arrival of the said vessel and that I had the honour to receive Your Honours' much-esteemed letter. It is quite impossible to answer it herein, the time being much too short, and I must to my sorrow postpone doing so until the departure of "De Spoor.'

I have alone the honour to thank YY. HH. from the bottom of my heart for sending reinforcements and ammunition; this gives me an opportunity of defence and in the event of an attack (which God forbid) of preserving my honour, which is dearer to me than aught else.

To my inexpressible sorrow and inmost grief I learn from Your Honours' despatch that YY. HH. are pleased to give credence to informants and godless calumniators, both (God better it) in this Colony and beyond it.

My conscience is clear before Almighty God not only that I am entirely innocent of what is so dishonourably laid to my charge by such men but that I have used all

[1] See Note on p. 209.

the means in my power in the interests of the Honble. Co. and for the welfare of the Colony, have exerted all my strength to turn this Colony, that was so long a burden, into a flourishing and profitable one, have rested neither night nor day, have ever neglected my lawful profits and interests, and have endeavoured to do both for the Honble. Co. and for the colonists much more than an honest man is according to his duty bound to do. Herein I may boldly rely upon the testimony of all honest men, and honour being dearer to me than all else I am, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, almost driven to desperation (I must give vent to my feelings) at finding myself so rewarded, and, as I am informed, mostly by people who owe me the greatest measure of gratitude for benefits innumerable....Such occurrences make me lose heart and render my service bitter, although it is the way of the world, for

*Liber Pater Castorque Polluxque*
*Post ingentia facta Deorum in templa recepti*
*Dum terras hominumque colunt genus urbes condunt*
*aspera componunt agros indicant*
*Ploravere suis non respondere favorem, speratum meritis*[1].

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[1] In this quotation Storm takes more liberties with his author than usual, but a comparison with the correct text given below leaves little doubt that he quoted from memory.

> *Romulus et Liber pater, et cum Castore Pollux,*
> *post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,*
> *dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella*
> *componunt, agros adsignant, oppida condunt,*
> *ploravere suis non respondere favorem*
> *speratum meritis.*
>
> HORACE, *Epist.* II. i. 5–10.

P.R.O. 468/67

March 19, 1746.

(Extract)

On the 7th of this month one Ignatius Courthial made an application to the Court for permission to cut a road through the forest in the River Cuyuni[1], in order by that road to bring mules and oxen into this Colony overland. It being possible that this may be of great profit and advantage, the permission was granted him on condition that there shall be paid to the Company 3 guilders recognition money for every mule, and 2 guilders for every horse or ox, and in order to prevent any fraud in this matter it is my intention to place the post which lies in Demerara[2] (and now unnecessary there on account of the opening of the river) on this road instead, which post, in addition to the trade which it will be able to carry on for the Honourable Company, will be amply provided for out of the recognition money.

I have not yet established any post in Barima because I have not yet been able to find any competent person to my liking to whom to intrust the same, for I think that post might become of great importance.

A. Pieterse having exhibited to me the petition he presented to YY. HH. for permission to lay out a plantation in Demerara[3] (which YY. HH. were good enough to grant him) his example is being followed by many others and I

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[1] In *December, 1748* (see p. 240), Storm reported this road as finished. Cf. p. 242, where Courthial himself mentions it.

[2] In a list of the West India Company's servants (P.R.O. 466/74) dated *25 May, 1739*, the first compiled by Storm, this post or trading-place of Demerara—*Handelplaets D'immerarij*—is shown to have had both an outlier, or superintendent, and an assistant. The above is, however, the first mention of Demerara in the body of Storm's despatches.

[3] In Coelesiraboe Creek (see p. 630).

hear that several from Surinam and Berbice are also desirous of setting out thither. But since I do not yet with certainty know of more than six who intend to make application in the next Court meeting I have deemed it necessary to make a proviso with them (before granting their petitions) that the Company shall not be holden to keep up any fortification or garrison there before the plantations there are in a position to bear and to contribute the costs necessary for the same.

That river is much better situated for purposes of colonization than Pomeroon, as vessels can get in and out easily and there are fine lands for sugar. I took soundings with my own hands three tides up when I was still Secretary and found that vessels could easily get up as far as that. It lies only one hour from the mouth of this river so that if I lived two hours lower down I should be nearer to the plantations in Demerara than to those here.

Some measures will however have to be taken to prevent illicit trade with the English who will come there in numbers for timber; wherefore someone will have to live there to look after Your Honours' interests and herein I have the honour to await Your Honours' orders.

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P.R.O. 468/77

July 10, 1746.

(Extract)

In Rio Demerara lands have already been allotted for eighteen sugar plantations, as well as for a few small ones, so that if this continues that river will soon be peopled and without prejudice to this one, since there are not more than two who are removing their plantations hence, those being Messrs J. van Roden and And. Pieterse.

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P.R.O. 468/78

July 20, 1746.

(Extract)

Having had the honour to write by the "Vlissingsch Welvaaren," Captain D. de Boire, last week, I should have allowed this opportunity to pass, had I not thought it my duty to give YY. HH. information that the Postholder of Wacquepo and Moruca[1] came the day before yesterday to inform me that a tribe of Indians have come down from Orinoco and have attacked the Caribs subject to us in the River Waini, have killed several, and have threatened that they would extirpate them all, which would entail very bad consequences for this Colony.

Wherefore I have provided him with powder and shot, with an order to collect together all the Indians subject to him, and, as far as practicable, to assist the Caribs aforesaid, with a promise that I will give him support from here if it becomes necessary. And since I have strong reasons to suspect that the Indians have been sent by the Spaniards of Cumaná, I have ordered him to investigate the matter as far as practicable; and I have expressly forbidden him to set foot upon the Spanish territory—not even to go below the River Waini.

The colonist C. Finet[2], who has returned from up the Cuyuni, has informed me that the report of the Caribs made to me some months ago is true, namely, that the

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[1] For particulars and sites of this post see pp. 80, 81, 430, 468 and 469, and the Map.

[2] Finet was one of the itinerant traders, a class upon which the Commanders—and Storm in particular (who describes them more fully later, see pp. 250, 259, 260, 269, 270)—relied almost entirely for information of what was going on amongst the Indians in the interior, especially beyond the Posts. Each of these traders appears to have had his own district. There is a much more interesting report from Finet in *1748* (see pp. 239, 240).

Spaniards have established a Mission up the said river, and have built a small fort there, he himself having been there and spoken with the priest and soldiery; that they were busy making many bricks, with the intention of founding yet another Mission and fort some hours further down this river next year; all the Indians from that direction are flying hither and praying for protection. I take the liberty humbly to entreat YY. HH., finding myself very diffident in this matter, that YY. HH. will be pleased to have the goodness to honour me most speedily with your orders how I am to act herein, and YY. HH. may be assured that the same will be carefully executed.

I feel not the least diffidence as to dislodging them from that place and capturing those forts, but such a step being one of great consequence, I dare not take anything upon myself, especially as the proper frontier-line there is unknown to me. The River Cuyuni, where the aforesaid works have been constructed, is the same in which Your Honours' indigo plantation lies, and where the coffee plantations are situated, and falls into the River Essequibo at the place where the old plantation, "Duynenburg," used to stand on the one side, and where M. van der Cruysse dwells on the other, half a cannon shot below Fort Kijkoveral.

Jan Stok, having returned home to Essequibo from his journey up in Cuyuni, has reported to me that he had heard from several Indians that Nicholas Horstman was on his way to return hither, but I can hardly believe this to be true.

*In reply to the above the Directors sent Storm certain very wise and discreet utterances*[1], *not wanting in circum-*

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[1] The Directors to the Commander, *November 9, 1746.*

SIR,—Upon receiving your letter of *July 20* of this year we without delay inquired about the departure of the ship "De Jalousie," skipper Roelof van

*spection, but not tending to strengthen nor yet to bind the Commander's hands in similar emergencies. See also Note on p. 229.*

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P.R.O. 468/82

Decemb. 7, 1746.

(Extracts)

This year is really the first wherein YY. HH. can judge of the measures taken by me in regard to the plantations. If YY. HH. will please to consider (what is the pure truth) that when clearing a sugar plantation twenty months must elapse before the cane can be crushed, that the removal of a plantation and the construction of a heavy water-mill throws back such plantation (if it be weakly manned) at least two years, and that "De Pelgrim" can only this year crush the sugar that was planted and worked by the slaves sent thither from "De Twee Agathas," YY. HH. will very

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Heysingh, the bearer of this missive, and, understanding that she had not yet sailed, we did not wish to fail to send you this missive, and therein briefly to say that you will do well by driving away again out of the Wacquepo and Moruca the Indian nation which came down from far up in the Orinoco, and tear down what you find they have made there, and thus maintain the Company's territory, especially if you think you have reason for suspecting that this nation meant to undertake something which might tend to the disadvantage of the Company or of the Colony in Essequibo. But, inasmuch as you are as yet in uncertainty about this matter, we are of opinion that you ought to proceed in this with all prudence, and we would suggest that before resorting to violence you try by amicable means to find out what might be the real purpose of those people in acting thus (in the meantime, however, repelling force by force, if it should come to that). For it might perhaps be that the Spaniards, who are very clearly acting secretly in the matter, are through those people seeking trade with those of Essequibo which it would be better to cultivate than to ruin. For the rest, we declare that we fully approve of the course pursued by you in this matter. In the meantime we expect that you will let no opportunity pass to inform us from time to time of what may come to your knowledge in this matter, in order that we, being well posted, may know what to do or to avoid. *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 46.

well understand that prior to this no opinion could be formed of the result of my efforts.

I have now put on board this vessel for Your Honours' account 540 hogsheads of sugar, in addition to the dye and indigo, and therefore much more than I had thought to do. In the three plantations 71 hogsheads were used for filling up and we are having a season the like of which has not been known within the memory of man. There has been no rain since August, so that "De Pelgrim" and "Achterkerk" are without water and cannot crush until the Spring tide, which throws things back considerably. Be good enough, YY. HH., to examine closely the inventories going over by this vessel and then to form a just estimate of the work that is being done on Your Honours' plantations. No free planter in this Colony is able, with a proportionate number of slaves and free Indians, to produce similar yields.

And in addition to my bounden duty, in addition to the honour which I would gladly reap and which is more to me than all else, there are also my own interests at stake—the more sugar the more emoluments. Besides my small salary and rations I have no income of any kind here beyond these emoluments, out of which I have to keep up a large family and the honour of the Company; I have not received the least iota in addition, except one hundred guilders from an English captain and what I hope to get out of the "Baskensburg[1]." And I take this opportunity of respectfully submitting to YY. HH. that it is impossible for me to go on like this any longer, losing money, as I do, annually. I live in middle-class fashion, my fare is ordinary, nay, mean, for even no wine is drunk except when there is a church- or Court-meeting; I dress

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[1] Out of the salvage of this vessel Storm got nothing; on the contrary, he had to pay a heavy fine. See p. 247.

rather below than according to my station, for which I am much talked about, and yet I get more backward every year, finding that what I had put by as Secretary is dwindling away since I am Commander.

I have the honour to assure YY. HH. that now the Colony is becoming so populous it is absolutely impossible for a Commander to exist if he would do his duty as an honest man without entering upon devious paths. Wherefore I hope YY. HH. will not take it amiss if I make so bold as humbly to ask for my discharge[1]. I have now brought the Fort, the plantations and the Colony to that condition in which, according to my poor judgment, they should be in order to be of use and of profit to the Honble. Co., and of this YY. HH. can see the first proofs by this vessel. I hope and trust from the bottom of my heart that Almighty God may further bless my efforts and that he whom YY. HH. may be pleased to appoint in my place may be able to work, not with more desire and inclination, for that cannot be, but with more results and with still greater advantage and profit for the Honourable Co.

It is not, YY. HH., that I have any grievance against my superiors—such is not at all the case. If YY. HH. have been pleased to reproach me, YY. HH. have been compelled so to do by the denunciations of detestable calumniators and YY. HH. have always regarded and accepted my well-grounded refutations. I find no fault with the Honble. Co.'s service; as long as I live I shall always acknowledge and feel indelible gratitude for Your Honours' innumerable favours and benefits, inculcate the same upon my children, always have Your Honours' interests at heart and further them with all my means. It is really with tears in my

[1] This application was repeated on *August 16, 1747*. (P.R.O. 468/129.)

eyes that I write these lines and ask for my discharge. I could wish to be allowed to end my days in the Honble. Co.'s service, in which I have enjoyed so many benefits, but since such cannot be I must bow to the decrees of The Most High. I say such cannot be for two important reasons.

The first I have already had the honour to submit to you.

The second is that I experience more and more how my usual kindness is abused, and such mostly by those who owe me the most gratitude, how my legitimate authority is undermined and belittled in every way. It is not worth while to get Your Honours' attention to dwell at length upon this now; I hope Your Honours' higher officials here may be given a Commander with whom they may be better able to get along.

Since I have no intention of returning home immediately and hope, if God spares my life, to stay here some three years or so with profit, I have the honour to assure YY. HH. that where- and whenever he who may come in my place shall need my services or counsel he will always find me ready and willing. The only thing which I ask YY. HH. in that event is that my discharge may be *salvis honoribus*, it being my intention whilst still resident here to procure, through my friends in the province of Utrecht, re-employment in the military service, since I have not sufficient means to live in retirement.

. . . . .

I have had the honour to inform YY. HH., viâ Berbice River, of a Mission erected with a little fort by the Spaniards up in the Cuyuni, in my opinion on Your Honours' territory, and that I had information from a certain source that they were thinking next year of founding yet another, lower down, whereat the inhabitants are very much aggrieved, and the Carib Indians a great

deal more so, since it perfectly closes the slave traffic in that direction from which alone that nation derive their livelihood. They have also expressed a desire to surprise the Mission and level it to the ground, which I, not without trouble, have prevented, because they belong to our jurisdiction, and all their trade being carried on in the Dutch Colonies such a step would certainly be revenged upon us by the Spaniards. It is very perilous for this Colony to have such neighbours so close by, who in time of war would be able to come and visit us overland, and especially to make fortifications in our own land is in breach of all custom. I say upon our own land—I cannot lay this down, however, with full certainty, because the limits west of this river are unknown to me[1].

In the month of October last nine soldiers deserted from the Berbice River to Orinoco, and came to the plantation of Mr Persik here to get bread, but made no show of violence. I was not advised of this until three days later, otherwise I should have prevented them from going any farther. On their arrival in Orinoco they joined a vessel from Trinidad which was cruising about there to prevent trade, and captured three canoes from this Colony that were out fishing, one of which, belonging to YY. HH., was in charge of salter H. Cleyman, with twenty-four hogsheads of salt fish; another belonged to Mr Persik, and one to A. Christiaense. This Colony from its very beginning having been in the possession of that fishery, and never having suffered the least hindrance or opposition from the Spaniards, this appears to me to be a kind of piratical act which cannot be tolerated, especially since the stopping of that fishery would deprive all our slaves of food, those belonging to YY. HH., as well as those of the colonists, being supported by it, and we should then be

[1] See Note on p. 229 for the Directors' reply to this.

obliged to buy our provisions for the slaves from the English at any price they ask, because these people must eat, and although they only get 3 lbs. of fish each every fourteen days, this would soon amount to a considerable sum if we had to buy it, the fish that is salted in the Orinoco, and which is incomparably better than the English cod, scarcely costing us, after reckoning all the expenses, an "oortje[1]" a lb. YY. HH. will certainly understand the great importance of this matter, and I have no doubt will take such measures in setting it right as may be deemed necessary.

. . . . .

The miners have just come down the river, and have reported to me that, notwithstanding the sufferings caused by illness and want, they have examined the heaven-high mountains up in Essequibo; that many of them, being absolutely treeless, presented a fair appearance of containing ore, among others, the Calikko or Crystal Mountain[2], the top of which is full of brimstone and vitriol, and almost covered below with crystals and beautiful veins of silver ore; but that the Indian tribes living in that district had not permitted them to approach it without a deal of difficulty, terrified by the ill-treatment they had suffered at the hands of the neighbouring Portuguese: that the working of those mines would, moreover, entail a deal of trouble and expense, they being situated full three days' journey inland; that their greatest obstacle had been the want of good interpreters, since the creoles who had been with them had been observed to interpret very faithlessly, being continually in fear that they would again be employed in the mines; and that the Indian tribes were all at war with each other, and were nearly all at war, too, with the

[1] $1\frac{1}{4}$ cent or an English farthing.

[2] For fuller particulars and site hereof (between 4° and 5° N. and 59° and 60° W.) see pp. 74, 75, 463 and 614, and the Map.

Portuguese, who were continually making raids upon them and carrying them off, and that this was a source of great danger to any Christians who came there.

They also told me, and this was corroborated by one of our itinerant traders, that N. Horstman, who ran away some time ago, is still with those Portuguese who ill-treat the Indians, which has caused the report to spread that he was coming back.

Seeing, therefore, that in the present state of things there was nothing to be done just yet, I discharged the miners from the Company's service on the last day of November. They have told me that they wished to stay and reside in the Colony. I am very glad of this, as it is possible that they may at some time or other be of use to me—especially Moshack, who is a good honest fellow[1].

I have frequently felt the want of a good sworn interpreter of the Indian languages, such as there is in Surinam, and this want has often been to our loss. I have frequently been assisted by the Jew, Moses Isaakse de Vries, but he being now dead, there is not a good faithful one to be got, and I am obliged to trust to the negroes or creoles, who say or conceal whatever they wish.

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P.R.O. 468/118

March 23, 1747.

(Extracts)

Your Honours' favours of the 1st and 9th of November of last year by the ship "Jalousie" came duly to hand, and I have the honour to reply thereto that in Wacquepo and Moruka all is again still, as the tribe which arrived with the intention of killing the Caribs dwelling there was

[1] Storm's presumption was justified—in *1749* Moshack was appointed postholder at Arinda, a somewhat responsible position (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vii. p. 161).

fittingly received by them, and thereupon again retired up the Orinoco. But the undertakings of the Spaniards go so far that if proper measures be not taken against them, they may, in the course of time, lead to the total ruin of the Colony.

I have, in my previous letter by the ship "Vriendschap" (copy of which herewith), had the honour circumstantially to inform YY. HH. of the outrages perpetrated through the taking away of the fishing canoes (the consequences whereof we already feel, not one salter daring to take that way again, whereby English cod have already risen between 3 and 4 stuyvers per lb.), as also of the Mission and fort up in Cuyuni, and of the intention to build yet another fort there this year, but some miles lower, for which they are now beginning to make ready, according to the report of all those who come along that river with mules.

Besides, it has been reported to me through the Burgher-Captain S. Persik, on his arrival from Orinoco, and confirmed by some Spaniards, that the Spaniards there had made a journey in the south-western direction right behind us, and had there discovered the origin of the Rivers Cuyuni and Massaruni (which two are the proper origin of this River Essequibo), both flowing out of a great lake or sea which is 60 miles long and 20 miles broad, and very deep; the water azure blue, without fish therein; from seventy-five to eighty hours in a straight line above Fort Kijkoveral; that their intention was to establish a permanent settlement for themselves near the origin of the rivers mentioned, and to fortify it, so that we should then be hemmed in by a cordon[1].

They say that this is the so famous Lake of Parima; it is also thus named by the Indians dwelling thereabout, so that we have this much nearer than we ever thought, it having been sought much more to the south.

Mr Persik, whom I have mentioned, has not only con-

[1] See Note 4 on p. 94.

versed with the Fathers and officers who made the journey, but has seen the map being made thereof (copy whereof I shall try to obtain by every possible means); he has also seen some Indians whom they have brought thence with them, who are fairly white, and clothed with cotton stuff that they themselves had prepared. I take the liberty once again to direct Your Honours' earnest consideration to the above-mentioned, because it will be of the utmost importance in future to this Colony, which, by the blessing of the Most High, is beginning to attain a prosperous state.

I should already long ago have removed and demolished the first fort up in Cuyuni (which even now is easy of accomplishment on my part through the Caribs), if I were but rightly conscious how far the limits of Your Honours' territory extend, both on the eastern and northern sides, as well as south and westwards, for the decision whereof not the least help is to be got in this office here. I therefore earnestly request YY. HH. to be pleased to send hither the necessary information concerning that matter, because an error in this might lead to quite too evil consequences[1].

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[1] The reply to this request, as well as to those on the same subject contained in Storm's despatches of *July 20* and *December 7, 1746*, was as follows:—

*Sep. 9, 1747.* "We have requested all the Chambers to inquire, each on its own account, whether it is possible to find out how far the limits of the Company in Rio Essequibo do extend. Nevertheless, if in the meantime you can, by indirect means and without yourself appearing therein, bring it about that the Spaniards be dislodged from the forts and buildings which, according to your assertions, they have made upon the territory of the Company, and can prevent them from spreading further in that quarter, you will do well to accomplish this...."

In the same letter the Directors wrote:

"If in Essequibo it be possible to find a good surveyor, we recommend that you cause to be made an accurate chart of that Colony, not only of the plantations there and their size, but also of the lands not yet cultivated or granted, and that you transmit that chart to us."

The *accuracy* of such a chart when neither Commander nor

The Assistant Gelskerke and my two sons having asked me for permission to proceed ashore in the boat (we being but a pistol shot distant thence), in order to shoot a few birds, entered it and pushed off, when the mast got caught in the sprit-sail-yard and the vessel was capsized in an instant by the swift current. YY. HH. can imagine the state I was in when I saw them all drifting out seawards as far as the eye could see and thought them all lost, but it pleased Almighty God to save my sons and all the slaves, contrary to all hope, through the medium of one Jan Smit, who, although unable to swim, risked going out in our broken boat with two negroes and (what seemed impossible) brought them safely back to the shore. The Assistant, however, had already gone down, to the inexpressible grief of his friends and myself, for he had been living with me for eight years and I loved him as one of my own children for his good qualities, he being truly a youth who gave great promise.

Being anxious to reward the fidelity and zeal evinced by a negro in this occurrence I take the liberty of begging YY. HH. most earnestly to be pleased to grant me the favour of selling me the same. I will with great pleasure pay the full value for him; his name is Abominé and he is entered upon the Fort inventory as the Commander's boy, but was placed upon the last one as a full-grown negro. He has a wife named Marianne and a child; the woman is a housemaid and neither has ever done any work upon a plantation. For this favour I should be most deeply obliged to YY. HH. I estimate the value of the couple between seven and eight hundred guilders at most[1].

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Company knew how far the Colony's limits extended would probably be problematical; a chart was, however, sent by Storm in *Dec. 1748* (see p. 238).

[1] It is gratifying to note that Storm's humanity was rewarded by a present of the negro with wife and child (see p. 232). Netscher has,

P.R.O. 468/130

September 9, 1747.

(Extract)

It is impossible for me to express the embarrassment in which I find myself through the long delay in the arrival of the anxiously awaited vessel. Do not, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, in God's name, forget this Colony, and enable honest folk to fulfil their oath and duty with honour and success. It seems as if the sea were closed—no ships from home, no English barques, what is to become of us if this goes on? In Berbice it is just the same; an English barque that chanced to call there sold its meat at fifty-two guilders a cask, and they were small Irish ones at that. The fishery in the Orinoco prohibited and in addition to that no trading wares sent for the Indians, what are we to do? I have studied economy to the utmost in purchasing as little as possible, but can no longer hold out. I received news viâ Berbice the day before yesterday that a barque belonging to Mr Clarke was on its way here; if it arrives safely I shall be obliged to buy its cargo.

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P.R.O. 468/137

December 29, 1747.

(Extract)

Two of our itinerant traders, named Hermanus Bannink and Gerrit Goritz, have been murdered in the Upper Essequibo by the Indians. That such a thing has happened by no means surprises me, but rather that this does not happen much oftener, because the brutal dealings of that sort of people, who hesitate at nothing, must stir the Indians to

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very exceptionally for him, an erroneous rendering of the above incident (*Op. cit.* p. 383).

revenge[1]. The loss of those people would not be a matter of very great concern were it not that the consequences are of great importance, since I fear that those tribes between the Amazon and this river, which are tolerably powerful, being extremely embittered, and, fearing that vengeance will be taken for this murder, may perhaps raid our highest-lying plantations, and thus bring us into a war which might be by no means advantageous for this Colony. I have long foretold such a thing, and on that account have desired to close the River of Essequibo, but have met with much opposition on account of the profit which some draw from there through the slave trade. I intend to bring this matter once more before the Court on the 8th January next.

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*Though the following and similar foregoing expressions of loyalty and gratitude may appear rather fulsome, that they were not unmeaning is proved by the fact that in spite of neglect on the part of the Directors at home and in the face of tremendous difficulties Storm held the command for a quarter of a century after this date.*

P.R.O. 468/146

February 11, 1748.

(Extracts)

In the first place and before all else I find myself in duty bound to thank YY. HH. from the bottom of my heart as well for my son's[2] promotion and the increase[3] in my own salary as for the present of the negro with wife and

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[1] For fuller accounts of these traders see pp. 250, 259, 260, 269, 270.

[2] His second son, Warnard Jacob (born *Nov. 1729*)—appointed an Assistant, as the clerks to the Commander and Secretary were called.

[3] From 500 to 800 guilders—the only increase he ever obtained. These evidences of the Company's favour were in answer to his applications for discharge made *Dec. 1746* and *Aug. 1747* (see p. 223).

child[1]. These manifold proofs of favour, although material ones of great importance to me and calling for deep gratitude, do not however afford me so much real satisfaction and pleasure as that which I derive from Your Honours' kind declaration that YY. HH. are pleased to approve of my services and that these proofs of favour shown me are to be regarded but as an earnest of that approval. This always having been my heart's desire and that wherein all my honour was centred imposes upon me such obligations that the power rather than the wish will fail me to fulfil them, but be assured, YY. HH., that so long as it shall please the Almighty to grant me health and strength it will be my sole endeavour and aim to further the interests of the Honble. Co. and the welfare of this Colony with all possible zeal, sparing neither trouble nor assiduity to attain that worthy object.

I shall also, as soon as a favourable opportunity occurs, execute Your Honours' orders emanating from the Assembly of Ten concerning the forts of the Spaniards, and as regards the fishery I have brought the matter so far with the Commandant of Orinoco that I believe no further disturbances will occur, but I can obtain no satisfaction for the three canoes taken away because he pretends that this took place through a privateer of Trinidad, and thus out of his jurisdiction.

The captain of the privateer, aforesaid, is in chains in Trinidad, at the accusation of the Governor of Cumaná, who himself cannot make good our loss. This is, however, very satisfactory for the future.

The indigo plantation was unable to fetch anything at auction, wherefore it had to remain unsold ; the manager is, in accordance with a resolution of the Court of Policy,

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[1] See p. 230.

at present occupied in clearing a sugar plantation on Varken Island; its site has been marked on the map[1].

. . . . .

I am sorry to see from Your Honours' despatch to Secretary Spoors that YY. HH. seem to reproach him with want of respect towards me and with arrogating more to himself than was his due. My sole desire was to be informed, in the event of YY. HH. allowing me to withdraw my application for discharge[2], how far the Secretary's authority over the plantations would extend or whether, as I had heard from others, he was to have nothing more to do with them at all. It was by no means my intention to complain about that gentleman, he having always shown me more respect than I, in my capacity, could lay claim to, and rendered me much service; in my letter to YY. HH. by "De Vriendschap" I had, too, the honour to write that we were very good friends, as we still are, and that he was an honest, upright man, evincing all possible zeal and attention in the Honble. Co.'s service and considering no trouble or labour too great if it were for the Company's advantage. The state of despondency in which I was at the time may have caused me to express myself somewhat too sharply, but I am sorry he was reprimanded. I have, however, the honour to thank YY. HH. from the bottom of my heart for the support given me[3].

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[1] A map of the colony had been asked for by the Directors in *Sept. 1747* (see p. 229, Note 1), and was sent by Storm in *Dec. 1748* (see p. 238).

[2] See p. 232, Note 3.

[3] On the relations existing between Spoors and the Commander see pp. 37, 38, 163 and 164. In writing the above Storm was possibly prompted by the same sentiments he openly avows in *1759* (see p. 369).

P.R.O. 468/170

April, 1748.

(Extract)

I take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the departure of a vessel from Berbice to inform YY. HH. that in the last meeting of the Court of Policy held on the 8th inst. report having been made of the dilapidated state of the house on Fort Kijkoveral and of the repairs that fort required it was unanimously resolved, after the matter had been fully considered both in that Court and in that of Justice, to propose to YY. HH. the razing of the fort in question[1]. Firstly, because the said fort is not of the least use to the Colony, there being no plantations situated above it ; secondly, because its defence, when in a proper condition, would require at least 40 men, which number we could not spare, as then we would indeed have none left. It is further to be feared that an enemy might some time fall upon us from behind (as may easily happen), make himself master of the fort, and establish himself there, when it would be a bad look-out for us. Lastly, because it would require a great outlay to repair the place properly, since, whatever repairs are constantly being done, one part falls over through age before the other part is put right ; such outlay would therefore be entirely in vain since the fort would only serve to embarrass and weaken Fort Zeelandia, which is now perfectly complete and which with the galley (which is fast progressing) affords sufficient defence. All being unanimous in this matter and in perfect accord with myself

[1] Four years before Storm had considered the upkeep of this fort as "of the utmost necessity" (see p. 209). The change in his views had in all probability been caused by the difficulty of obtaining labour (the burghers were ever behind in furnishing their quota for such work, see p. 255) and by the weak state of his garrison, his constant lament. Cf. also p. 474.

I have nevertheless had nothing actually done in the matter until I shall have been honoured with Your Honours' orders therein.

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P.R.O. 468/151

December 2, 1748.

(Extracts)

I will now proceed concerning the new Postholder in Moruka. This man, trying to observe his duty to the letter, and being unwilling to carry on an underhand trade with a party of colonists as his predecessors have done, has almost everybody for an enemy, wherefore I have to hear daily complaints which, upon careful examination, vanish in smoke, though not failing to cause me much trouble and worry, as some of the leading men have had a hand therein.

. . . . .

Business with the Spaniards begins to grow better as time progresses, and it would have advanced somewhat better still if the absence of goods through the long-deferred arrival of ships had not been a very great obstacle thereto. Some Spanish merchants have been obliged to wait here nine, ten, yea, eleven months, to their great inconvenience. Pity that the business here is in so few hands, and causes such bitter jealousy, each grudging the other the slightest profit. That is also one of the reasons for the exasperation against the Postholder at Moruka; because he is an orderly man and conversant with the Spanish language they are afraid he will cause them prejudice, while he has never until now been in a position to cause the least. I shall try, as far as lies in my power, to encourage the trade and to advance it, and as far as possible to make it general. I hope now, with good reason, to succeed therein, because I think that now the ships will

arrive somewhat more regularly and punctually to their time.

. . . . .

The success, far beyond all expectations, of Demerara, its crop of sugar for the abundance of which God be praised, and the reasonable price thereof, afford every good hope of the flourishing growth of that Colony, such hope being still more increased by the probability of concord. If these well-grounded hopes were backed up by proper measures there would be no doubt of good results, under the merciful blessing of the Most High. Briefly, such measures should consist in the importation of slaves, of whom there is a great dearth and without whom nothing can be done, and, if possible, the greater population of Demerara, the soil of which is so excellent as to be really surprising. I have heard that some families are now being sent to Surinam for the better population of that colony ; could the same be done for Demerara it would be a very desirable thing. It is true that it would entail heavy costs at first but in the course of time these would be repaid with interest ; it is also true that it would cause me considerable trouble and fatigue, but I am ready to sacrifice myself for the prosperity of this country and of masters who have showered so many benefits upon me. The ingratitude of many people here causes me, it is true, to pass many a sorrowful hour, but having a clear conscience that I have never given anyone lawful reasons for displeasure I again console myself very easily and leave vengeance to the Almighty, Who searcheth all hearts.

Although it is urgently necessary I have not yet appointed anyone to administer affairs in Demerara because I have no one competent to do so ; a fair measure of experience, much patience and moderation are required properly to command a newly established colony like that, to settle disputes and differences, to encourage the planters

and to render proper assistance whenever desirable. I have not yet found anyone to whom I felt I could trust the post and yet I cannot postpone the matter any longer since quarrels are daily increasing, the majority being caused by jealousy concerning the free Indians whom each desires to employ in largest number.

. . . . . .

My dwelling-house having become utterly dilapidated through age I am having a new one built above the Fort ; it will be lucky if the old one remains standing until the new one is ready, for whenever it blows I am afraid of getting it about my ears ; I have however had to put off having a new one built until other necessary works were completed.

I hope that the letters and papers by the "Juffrouw Margareta" may yet come to hand, because I sent by her a map of this river made for YY. HH. out of various small ones which have been drawn from time to time, and whereof I kept no copy because it was impossible to find time therefor, and I would not defer complying as quickly as possible with the orders of Their Honours in the Assembly of Ten ; and now for want of good paper for the purpose, I cannot make one[1]. If it has not yet come to hand, I take the liberty of requesting YY. HH. to cause to be transmitted to me a book of the largest medium paper that I may once more draw it up properly.

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[1] See p. 229, Note 1. According to the records (P.R.O. 468/149, 150) the "Juffrouw Margareta" sailed from Essequibo *Feb. 25, 1748* putting in at Bayonne *July 27* of that year. Two very good maps bearing Storm's name (one coloured dated *Aug. 9, 1748*, one uncoloured dated *Aug. 9, 1749*) have been reproduced in the Atlas to the Ven. Arbitr. Brit. Case. In view of the above statement and what is further said on p. 247 it seems safe to assume that the coloured one (which remained in the Colony and is now in Surinam) was dated *1748* in error for *1749*, and that the uncoloured one went over on *Sept. 8, 1749*.

The Spaniards were beginning gradually to approach the Upper Cuyuni; but some weeks ago a war having broken out between the Carib nation and that of the Warouws[1], which is carried on very obstinately, it will stop their further progress, and possibly, if the Caribs obtain the upper hand, they may even be driven somewhat further off, without our having in the least degree to meddle therewith. I wish, however, that if it were possible, I might know the proper boundaries. According to the testimony of old men and of the Indians, this jurisdiction should begin on the east at the Creek Abary, and extend westwards as far as the River Barima, where in old times a Post existed; but these sayings give not the slightest certainty.

. . . . .

An itinerant trader named Finet[2] having gone up the River Cuyuni to obtain hammocks by barter with the Indians, was requested by me carefully to spy out the doings of the Spaniards in that region—a duty for which he is very well fitted because he understands the Carib language thoroughly, and is by no means destitute of intelligence. He returned here on the 13th November, four months after his departure, and has made report to me that the Spaniards had not yet undertaken the building of any forts or Missions as had been their intention lower down, but that they cruelly ill-treated the Indians subject to us, continually taking them by surprise in their dwellings and carrying them off, with their wives and children, to send them to Florida; that he had spoken to the chief of the Spaniards, and had placed before his eyes the unfairness of this treatment, as well as the consequences of it, but that the latter had replied that the whole of America belonged to the King of Spain, and that he should do what suited himself, without troubling about us.

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[1] See p. 343.

[2] See Note 2 on p. 219.

Finet also reported to me that the Indians were in the highest state of indignation; that four of their Chiefs were on the point of coming down in order once more to come and complain to me, and that they had already sent knotted cords to all the Indian houses, which is their sign to meet on a certain day.

Seeing that all my remonstrances and letters to the Spaniards are of no avail and no redress is obtainable, I intend to tell the Chiefs of the Indians when they come to me that I can provide no redress for them, and that they must take measures for their own security. Then I feel assured that in a short time no Spaniard will be visible any more above in Cuyuni. I have always, but with great difficulty, restrained them, and prevented all hostilities by fair promises; however, before we come to that, I will next month once more send a letter to the Governor of Cumaná, who is expected at that time in Orinoco, and explain this matter to him seriously, with all courtesy, as well as the consequences, which cannot but be disastrous for them, and then await his reply, in order to govern myself thereby.

Ignace Courthial, who has constructed the road up in Cuyuni[1], and has now gone up the Orinoco for some hundred cattle and mules to import for trade, showed me before his departure a letter which he had written to VV. HH. to be sent by this ship, wherein are some proposals which appear to me somewhat strange and to proceed from his Gascon ideas.

I have told him my opinion thereon, and advised him to leave out some points, but I believe he has not done so.

The man is very enterprising, and in a position to do much service to the new Colony of Demerara, by breeding there some hundreds of cattle for food, the traffic in hides

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[1] Permission to do so was granted in *March, 1746* (see p. 217).

from which will produce much profit, and also inland by advancing very much the planting of tobacco, cocoa, &c.

The basis of his undertaking is well founded, and he is also quite in a position to perform the same, wherefore I take the liberty of requesting Your Honours' serious consideration of this as a matter which will prove of great use and profit, and that YY. HH. will be pleased to have the goodness to make your intentions known by the first opportunity, because I expect him back again within five or six months.

. . . . .

I have taken the liberty to have a few panes of glass for the church and for my house entered upon the requisition, it being very inconvenient to have to close the wooden shutters when there is the least rain and to be obliged to sit in complete darkness until the rain is over.

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[Inclosure]

*Petition of Ignace G. Courthial, Colonist in Essequibo, to the Zeeland Chamber of the West India Company.*

August 18, 1748.

To the Directors of the West India Company, Middelburg Chamber:

GENTLEMEN,—Although it is many years since I had the honour of being granted admittance to this Colony, I have been your subject since only about two years ago, and did not decide to become so before I had had numerous talks with Mr van 's Gravesande, our Commander, on the subject of the Roman Catholic religion, which I profess.

[1]This liberty I deem to consist in having permanently, at my cost and expense, a chapel, with a priest for its service, in the deserts of Mahaica and Mahaicony; that is the name one ought to give to the sandy lands lying between the River Demerara

[1] The petitioner would appear to have taken Storm's advice (see p. 240) and to have omitted something here.

and that of Berbice, since they are fit only to be inhabited by savages, as they actually are, and for raising cattle.

Nevertheless, in these lands which this Colony has granted me, one finds certain meadows which we call savannahs. These, joined to those of Berbice, which I have been honoured by having offered to me, could be made into an establishment such as I have in mind.

This establishment consists in the introduction, either by sea or by land, of enough horned cattle of the two sorts to be able in a few years, by the multiplication of their kind, to form a stock-ranch[1] of from 12,000 to 15,000 animals.

. . . . .

This enterprise will seem to you hardly less daring than the one I have executed in opening and making at my cost and expense (an undertaking for a Colony) a road across the forests, until then unexplored, of 130 or 140 leagues, to the old fort, and thence to Berbice, by means whereof one can, at a very moderate expense, perfect it so as to be able to go on horseback and with loads from Fort Nassau, in Berbice, as far as Peru—I have made more than half of it.

. . . . .

The Spaniards who dwell in the outskirts of the Provinces of Coumac, Carácas, Maracaybo, and even of Pampelona, and those who dwell in that of Cassanary and even in the Kingdom of Santa Fé, who, on account of the great distance, the risks and obstacles, cannot transport their goods to the ships of the French, English, and Dutch smugglers, will, as soon as they are sure of finding here French, English, and Dutch goods, bring to this Colony, by an endless number of navigable rivers which issue from those provinces, their leather, cocoa, tobacco, their doubloons, and their gross piastres, for they will find on this road much smaller risk, having many routes whereby to evade the guards who will try to oppose their commerce.

This prediction I base upon experience itself. It is notorious to all this Colony that I was the first who, in 1736, ascended this river, and, having wandered for several months from river to river, I discovered the mouths of these different rivers and taught them to the Spaniards, who until then were ignorant of them; and

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[1] *Un hatte* in the original. The letter is in French, and this was Courthial's rendering of *hato*, the Spanish term.

since that time the Island of Martinique and even this Colony are beginning to derive some advantage from my discoveries.

. . . . .

The King of Spain grants titles of honour to the private individual who, by some small gift, draws from the forests a few Indian families to form a village, which becomes, through the ministry of a priest whom he places there, what is called a Mission.

He grants, I say, the titles of Marquis and Count, and governments, to him who founds a town, a city, with 25 or 30 families, merely by furnishing to each a dwelling *à l'Américaine*, or hut, with a pair of each sort of domestic animals.

I do not seek by citing this precedent to lay down laws, or to obtain anything which may be contrary to your interests or to your usages and customs, since each State governs itself by its own maxims and as seems to it good, but only to show that, if my requests should be looked on in Holland (of whose customs I am ignorant) as visionary and extravagant, they would in France and in Spain receive examination, and, without doubt, be granted as useful and reasonable.

It is for you, Sirs, as Sovereigns of this Colony situate in America, to examine whether the enterprise which I have the honour to propose to you, seems to you so important as I seek to make it appear. If it so seem to you, I beg you to give it your attention, and to honour me with a reply.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, with all possible respect, your very humble and very obedient servant,

(Signed) I. G. COURTHIAL[1].

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[1] The Directors' comments, addressed to the Commander, ran as follows :—

*May 14, 1749.* "As for the plan of a certain Ignace Courthial which was sent by you for our examination (but which did not come to hand until recently among some papers from the ship "De Jalousie"), we have, after reading it, found it of such a nature that it may, indeed, be expedient to make some further examination of the matter, and we also wish to give it a little further thought before we come to a resolution thereupon. We have found in it some points which would tend to make it attractive, but it also contains various things which would make it entirely impracticable. For this reason we have already sent a copy of it to the Presidial Chamber of Amsterdam, and it will doubtless be an object of further discussion in the next Session of the Ten."

P.R.O. 468/176

March 27, 1749.

(Extract)

To a despatch written by me to the present Governor of Cumaná, named Don Diego Tabarez[1], wherein I have circumstantially gone into our grievances, I, in January last, received a reply from him in very courteous terms, wherein he replies to everything very circumstantially and sensibly, and declares himself to be ready for the observance of good neighbourship, and to be willing to contribute thereto by everything which is in his power and not contrary to the commands of his Sovereign. He has also ordered the Commandant of Orinoco to pay over the capital proceeds (arising from) two slaves, deserters from the Honourable Company's indigo plantation, which were sold there, to whomsoever I should send to fetch the same, as also the Honourable Company's fishing-canoe, declaring that he cannot give up the other canoes because they were found to contain merchantable goods.

His Honour has made a proposal to me—through the Contador, or Secretary, of Orinoco—to conclude a Cartel for the restitution of deserters from either side, concerning which I am at present in negotiation, since he is willing to grant that we should deliver up deserters bodily, but that they should restore the price alone[2]. I expect every day a reply to my proposition, and shall try to bring the matter quickly to a favourable conclusion, as being very profitable for this Colony. I shall send the Postholder of Moruca, who is at present very ill, to Orinoco as soon as he has recovered.

Having now been more than eleven years away from my mother country and from my nearest relatives, having

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[1] See Storm's description of the Spanish governors on p. 553. Cf. also pp. 91, 92.

[2] See Note on p. 65.

also many family matters that require my presence, and more especially being convinced that it would be very advantageous for Your Honours' service and for the interest and welfare of this Colony if I could have the good fortune to give YY. HH. a full verbal report which it is impossible to do so well in writing, I take the liberty of begging YY. HH., provided peace is well established and everything is at rest in Europe, to be pleased to grant me permission to come home by some vessel leaving here in the summer, since my health would not allow me to go over in winter. If the Almighty grant me a safe voyage I shall not stay longer than it may please YY. HH., neither shall I make use of the permission if, when I receive it, I find that matters should in any way require my presence here, and I will take all necessary measures before my departure. I hope YY. HH. will not take my request amiss but graciously grant it me.

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P.R.O. 468/202

July 23, 1749.

(Extract)

The vessel "De Vreede," that set out on its voyage to Middelburg has had to come in again through absence of wind, a thing that has not happened for 30 years, wherefore I have an opportunity of writing YY. HH. these few lines serving only to inform YY. HH. that having unpacked the carpenters' tools I find among them no axes, adzes, boring-rods or chisels, so that I do not know what to do, now that there is so much work both upon the plantations and at the Fort, and shall have to turn the negro carpenters into the plantations for want of tools. The master carpenters, it is true, are obliged to find their own tools (though this is really no advantage to the Honble. Co.) but they will not provide the negroes with any.

Secondly, with regard to the drugs; the Chief Surgeon handed me the accompanying list yesterday and is at his wits' end concerning the absence of the most necessary drugs and the exceedingly bad quality of others, especially now that things are in such a state throughout the river and sickness everywhere; here at the Fort alone there are 32 seriously ill, amongst them all my three sons[1].

Thirdly, with regard to the paint, so little of which has again been sent that it is impossible to give everything one coat, and if this be not done at least twice a year everything rots. The air here consumes even iron in a very short time, so that timber cannot last long unless it is well looked after. The gun-carriages YY. HH. sent are already quite rotten, notwithstanding that they were tarred every three months. I have used for the Fort 30 lbs. of green paint which I purchased myself.

Neither did I receive more than four pieces of canvas, which will barely suffice for one set of sails for the pilot boat; there is not a single tarpaulin on the plantations or at the Fort to cover the goods that are being laden or discharged and no coverings for the hatches in the boats; I myself have for the last three years had no Company's boat in which to visit the plantations, having on each occasion had to borrow one. I shall not dilate further upon the above, as I perhaps ought to do, but hope to have the honour, if it please God, of doing so verbally, when I doubt not I shall be able to prove to YY. HH. as clear as day that YY. HH. have been greatly misled by false and calumnious reports, as I gather from Your Honours' last highly esteemed letter has again been the case with regard to the trading-wares and tools. I have communicated that paragraph to the Secretary and managers who,

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[1] Jonathan, Warnard and Gerard. Jeremias was born on *Sept. 2* of that year. Cf. p. 32.

like myself, were deeply hurt thereat. It is hard, YY. HH., for honest men who put forth every endeavour to do their duty and who seek to further the interests of their masters in all matters with all their power not only to be suspected of being dishonest folk, or let us say outright *thieves*, but even to be regarded positively as such (since YY. HH. are pleased to say that the information is looked upon as correct). From the bottom of our hearts (I speak on behalf of all) we beg YY. HH. to be good enough to compel those informants to prove their information to be true and to punish the guilty without any mercy. I have the honour to assure YY. HH. that nothing belonging to the Honble. Co. is misappropriated or taken clandestinely away, and that it is difficult for such to be done since too good a watch is kept over all.

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P.R.O. 468/207

September 8, 1749.

(Extracts)

I have the honour to send herewith the Map of the Colony[1]. It is not so well made as I wished, but that was impossible, because I had no colours or pencils, all that I had being entirely ruined by black-beetles. If Captain Creij had not placed at my service two indifferent pencils I should have been entirely unable to fulfil Your Honours' instructions.

. . . . .

*In execution of a judgment concerning the technically incorrect manner in which the higher officials of the Colony had dealt with and disposed of a vessel wrecked on the coast of Guiana*[2] *distraint had been laid upon their salaries in the home country. Thereupon Storm writes:*

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[1] See p. 238. [2] See p. 222.

But, YY. HH., if all the salary and emoluments of an employee can be impounded in this manner upon what is he to exist in the meantime? By a resolution of Their High Mightinesses not more than a third part of the salary of an officer can be impounded in the Netherlands. I have no other income here but the salary and emoluments which YY. HH. are pleased to accord me and therefore nothing left to live upon if these are wholly impounded in this manner. Since through this occurrence I am obliged to have recourse to property which I left in the province of Utrecht and of which I preferred not to touch a cent since my arrival here, my presence there for a short time becomes all the more necessary, for my plantation (which is, thank God, in a fair condition) I would like to keep intact. Wherefore I hope that the leave I have sought for may be graciously granted by YY. HH., so that, with the Lord's blessing, I may next spring come over by "De Goude Spoor," since I cannot come now by "De Vriendschap[1]."

. . . . .

Having written to the Governor of Cumaná[2] that, if he persisted in the design of founding a Mission in the River Cuyuni, I should be obliged to oppose myself thereagainst effectually, he has replied to me that such was without his knowledge (not the founding of the new [Mission], but the site), and that it should not be progressed with, as in reality nothing has been done. On the map YY. HH. will find the place marked, as also the site of the one already established[3]. For six months I have seen no Indians from that side, so that I do not accurately know how matters go on there.

YY. HH. will also find marked on it up in the Essequibo

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[1] In the postscript to this despatch Storm gratefully acknowledges receipt of the permission sought for and announces his intention of coming home in the following spring. [2] See p. 240.

[3] This map forms No. 19 in the Atlas to the British Case against Venezuela.

River, in the Creek Siparuni, an active volcano[1], which was discovered there by the present Postholder of Arinda a year ago; as he was then afflicted with a great pain in his eye he was compelled to come away again, but his intention is to go there again at the close of the present year, in order to observe everything carefully. The Indians say that about six years ago it began to burn continually, and to cast out stones. They are exceedingly afraid of it, and almost all have retired from thereabout.

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R.A.[2]

November 20, 1749.

(Extract)

The discoveries made in our neighbourhood by the Spaniards in the year 1748, a copy of the map whereof (notwithstanding its being prohibited on pain of death) I have been able to obtain cognizance of, are also of no small advantage for us—that notorious Lake of Parime, of which so much has been written for and against, by many believed to exist, by others held as a fable, having now at last been discovered and found, and even, according to the map, situated within our jurisdiction[3].

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[1] There is no further mention of this volcano in the despatches and that fact causes some little doubt as to its existence. It is however curious that the Indians had the tradition above alluded to; it can only be conjectured that, having learnt from experience that "prospecting" held out for them only a prospect of ill-treatment in the mines, they scared away Europeans from such spots with vague threats of the vengeance of their *Jawaho* or Devil. See pp. 75 (Note 1), 464, 468 and 501.

[2] This extract is from a despatch of Storm's extant in the Rijksarchief at The Hague.

[3] Storm's credulousness respecting the existence of this lake was not entirely without some reason. About the end of the 18th century a gentleman simply described as D. van Sirtema "travelled so far into

The information which I have obtained surreptitiously from the free Indians convinces me that the map has been accurately and well drawn up by the Jesuits, who formed that expedition, with an officer and forty soldiers.

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P.R.O. 468/252

January 10, 1750.

(Extract)

YY. HH. know that in one of my previous despatches[1] I had the honour to give YY. HH. information of the intolerable and inexcusable dealings of some of our itinerant traders in the Upper Essequibo, which caused me to fear that the natives there would be induced to revenge themselves. Whatever means I employed I have never been able to obtain proof which was sufficient for a Court, so as to be able to punish any of them according to their deserts.

Wherefore, being convinced of the justice of the Indians' complaints, I closed the river, and forbade individuals trading there. Subsequently I was compelled by the Court of Justice again to throw the trade open under certain conditions, although I sufficiently demonstrated the danger that was to be expected therefrom.

Now, finally, it has come to pass that my prophecies have been confirmed, as one of those itinerant traders, by name Jan Stok, an insolent and godless man, according to unanimous report committed horrible enormities there. Accompanied by a party of Orinoco Caribs, he attacked

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the interior as to reach the Portuguese settlement of Fort Joachim, and passed through the district stated in all charts to be occupied by the Lake of Parima, which at the dry season of the year...is an extensive savannah, and only covered in the wet season with water." (Acting Governor Codd writing to Earl Bathurst, *Sept. 6, 1813*; *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* v. p. 215.) Cf. also pp. 182–184 *supra*.

[1] *December 29, 1747*. p. 231. For fuller accounts of these traders see pp. 259, 260, 269, 270.

the natives our friends close by the Post Arinda, caused all the men to be killed, and carried the women and children away as slaves, ruined all the provision gardens, and perpetrated many other unheard-of things.

In a word, they have made the Indians desperate, who intend to take vengeance therefor, so that the other traders who are still up the river are in extreme peril of life, and the plantations up the Essequibo run the risk of being deserted. On this account the manager of the plantation Oosterbeek (now St Jan) has come down in order to ask assistance in case of need.

In the journey which I made up the river I was already visited by a party of Akawoi Indians to make their complaints, but did not yet learn one-fourth part of them.

I then summoned the aforesaid Jan Stok to appear before the Session of the Court on the 5th instant, which order he has not obeyed, whereof report having been made to the Court, and the Postholder of Arinda having been heard with others, a warrant of arrest was ordered against him, and the ensign and a sergeant and four men were sent to arrest him, wherever he may be found, and bring him in custody here. An extraordinary Session for this matter will be held on the 19th of this month.

I immediately caused the natives to be informed of this, and caused them to be promised satisfaction, with a request to send their chiefs, so that they may be personally present. This some have already assented to, but some lie so far off and are so scattered through panic that I have not yet been able to warn them. I believe, however, that as soon as they learn of the arrest of this man they will quite return to calmness.

However, to obviate all further misfortunes (for a war with the natives would be the ruin of the Colony), I think it would be best (with Your Honours' approval) that YY. HH. should be pleased to prohibit until further orders

traffic with the Indians on the Rivers Essequibo, Massaruni, and Cuyuni.

I hope within a few months to have the honour to make a verbal report, and therefore I will not enlarge further upon this matter.

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*Storm set out from Essequibo on March 31, 1750*[1], *Spoors, the Secretary, having been appointed his* locum tenens *during his visit home*[2]. *No time was therefore lost in the presentation of the following Report which, for its great interest, since it is in reality a résumé of the matters that brought Storm over, is here given in its entirety.*

R.A.[3]

*Report on the Colony of Essequibo submitted in person by the Commander to the Zeeland Chamber.*

Middelburg, June 19, 1750.

To the Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, The Directors of the Zeeland Chamber of the Honourable General Chartered West India Company.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Having arrived in Zeeland by Your Honours' permission and the mercy of the Most High I have considered it to be my duty to give YY. HH. a circumstantial account of the colonies which YY. HH. have done me the honour of placing under my command and of the changes which in my humble opinion, *salvo meliori,* are highly necessary.

The unmerited and manifold favours bestowed upon

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[1] Spoors' letter to Zeel. Chamb. *Mar. 31, 1750.* (P.R.O. 468/253.)

[2] Spoors' letter to Zeel. Chamb. *Sept. 8, 1749.* (P.R.O. 468/217.)

[3] The original of this report, in Storm's own hand, is in the Rijksarchief at The Hague.

me on so many occasions by YY. HH. would render me the most ungrateful of men were I not to do all in my power to further the interests both of the Honble. Co. and of the aforesaid colonies, the condition of which is at present such that far from promising any profit to the Honble. Co. it threatens, if not improved, to tend to naught but loss and injury and even to total ruin.

This and no other reason has moved me to seek Your Honours' permission to come over, in the well grounded hope that YY. HH. will kindly give consideration to what I shall have the honour briefly to submit in this report and, according to Your Honours' wise judgment, take the necessary measures to promote the growth and prosperity of these decadent regions.

In order not to detain YY. HH. with a longer preface I will enter into the matter at once, first giving YY. HH. an account of the state of the Colony and then taking the liberty to suggest some measures for its improvement.

Beginning with the Hon. Co.'s plantations, the consignments of sugar for some years past are a proof that these are in good condition, and, under the Lord's blessing (and without unexpected mortality among the slaves), this should not, according to present appearances, deteriorate. The sugar now growing is excellent and so abundant that it cannot possibly be crushed with the number of slaves we now have, and a great deal of it will have to rot on the fields.

The bread plantation alone has for the last year or two had the misfortune to be unable to deliver enough bread[1] for the rations and coast journeys, the fault being (in my opinion) due only to the negligence of the former manager, P. Berk, since the seasons have been favourable and there has been no shortage of bread anywhere.

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[1] See Note on p. 209.

I am of opinion that it would be much more economica for the Honble. Co. to abandon the aforesaid plantation and to send rye-meal from Europe for the rations. The usual yield of the plantation is 10 hhds. every four weeks; this at 10 guilders per hhd. (including eight of the latter annually for the coast journeys) amounts to only 1380 guilders, which sum does not amount to the salaries of the director and surgeon, cost of trading wares, interest on capital paid for slaves, etc.

Fort Kijkoveral[1] has been abandoned, but for want of men is not yet razed; none can be spared from the new fort on account of the quantity of work, all hands being at present occupied in the erection of a new and urgently required warehouse there. When this is completed new houses will have to be put up for the Chief Surgeon and workpeople, not one of those now standing being inhabitable; also a landing-stage for the Fort. The new smithy is almost complete.

Through the good management and industry of the present master brick-maker the brickworks are in very good order in spite of the small number and incompetency of the slaves, there being a fairly good quantity of excellent bricks in stock for the use of the Honble. Co. or private planters.

The lighthouse has been washed away by the heavy swell of the water, and must be transferred to another place. At the Company's trading-places everything is at present well, they being provided with good Postholders. The one at Arinda up in Essequibo I have ordered to be transferred four days' journey higher to the creek Rupununi, this being the direct route of the tribes who come from the Orinoco and Corentyn and pass through the country to trade or make war higher up.

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[1] See p. 474.

The condition of the militia is pretty bad, the soldiers being poor and laden with debt, concerning which more hereafter.

The galley is almost ready for launching, wanting only spars, ropes and sails. It is a very well-built vessel, likely to be of good service in case of need, and although not according to specifications, and of somewhat deep draught, it will serve its purpose. The absence of the ten negro carpenters who were so long at work upon it on behalf of the Hon. Co. has caused much hindrance to other work, the delay in the completion of the said vessel being due to the fact that the private planters were so greatly behind in furnishing their quota of both wood and slaves. Herein some of the principal colonists, instead of setting an example to others, were the first to sin, and although the Court had set a big fine upon the non-attendance of slaves this could never be imposed by reason of Mr van der Cruijsse always refusing to say whose they were that were absent; nor would he allow Marten Schreuder, the foreman, to furnish the information, saying that the man was under his orders and was to report to him alone—in this way the matter gave rise to much difficulty. The Honble. Co. has never failed in doing its share of this work; when it is complete and the accounts are made up it will be found that the Colony has fallen far short of furnishing its quota.

The position of the private planters is very bad, except in the case of a few; they are deeply in debt and seem but little likely to get out of it on account of the low price of sugar and for other reasons to be adduced hereafter.

Judging by appearances, all would seem to be going on well; big crops of sugar in good condition promise large yields if they could be crushed, but since there are not more than nineteen mills in Essequibo and three in Demerara,

mostly ill provided with horses, the greater part will have to rot in the field, as often occurs.

In Demerara things are going on very well considering the small number of inhabitants, and the probability of continued good fortune under the blessing of the Most High increases daily. Sugar turns out beyond expectation both in growth and quality, and coffee and cocoa have succeeded remarkably well—far beyond any ever seen in Essequibo; upon J. M. Frensel's plantation there are at present shrubs of one and a half and two years' growth laden with fruit from top to bottom, four years being generally required for this. I think it will be the same with the cultivation of rice, cotton or tobacco, if it be undertaken.

No one has yet been appointed to the sub-command of that river in execution of Your Honours' orders, the delay being due to the reluctance and unreasonableness of the planters; they are now beginning to come round to other views, but the time of year and my projected voyage led me to put the matter off until I had had the honour of speaking to Your Honours.

This, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, is a brief report of the condition of the colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, which I take the liberty of handing YY. HH. in writing since I cannot trust my memory, and in accordance with my duty I am ready to give YY. HH. such elucidation as YY. HH. may desire both concerning the above and what is to follow.

I have now the honour to proceed to the second point, being a project for the improvement of the aforesaid colony, wherein the first thing that demands consideration is the urgent need of greater population.

The English colonies on the islands and in North America furnish convincing proof what can be done by care of and attention to population; those colonies are not

only in a position to maintain themselves but can moreover, in time of war, inflict serious blows upon their enemies (as was proved by the capture of Cape Breton), and far from being a burden upon their mother country they are of great advantage to the latter; this fact being generally known requires no further comment.

If the Netherlands colonies on this continent were populated to the same extent they would not only be able to do the same but more, since the regions occupied by us in South America have many advantages over those in North America, as can actually be proved. But to adduce only one example. The English colony in Carolina derives most of its revenue and support from the cultivation of rice, whereby several planters have from very small beginnings become large capitalists. The soil in our colonies produces rice of much better colour and size than that of Carolina and it has this important advantage over it; whereas in Carolina it takes a year to grow each crop, five months only are required in Essequibo, so that here twelve crops can be obtained against five in Carolina. Again, the rice in Essequibo has not the red husk which gives so much trouble in Carolina to get off. It is no doubt for these reasons that the English in Barbados (to whom they are well known) are making so much stir and using so many arguments to dissuade and frighten off those desirous of undertaking this cultivation (well foreseeing what injury this would do to Carolina), wherein they have until now succeeded only too well[1].

Timber fit for ship-building, such as is much found in

[1] Of late years Storm's desire has been fulfilled. Chiefly owing to the presence of so many Indian coolies the culture of rice in Demerara was seriously taken up about *1898*. Ten years later it had become an important industry: 29,715 acres were under this cultivation, and the fall in the annual importation of rice from some 25 million pounds weight to a little over 2 millions is the measure of its success. Cf. also *Timehri*, vol. v. p. 101.

the North American colonies, we have also in great abundance and of much better sort and durability, in fact, beyond compare. And as for the other materials required in that trade I feel certain that they could also be obtained here with a little zeal and industry. The aforesaid colonies have indeed one advantage over ours in that their climate being more like that of Europe the settlers are used to it at once and pursue a cultivation similar to that at home; but this, after all, is only a matter of a year or two, in which period all that is required can be learnt, and this disadvantage is amply compensated for by immunity from cold and from the expense and labour of providing clothes and other things to keep it off.

In addition to rice, the following products may be cultivated successfully in Essequibo and Demerara.

Cotton of very good quality and ready for picking seven or eight months after planting.

Coffee and cocoa, the trees beginning to bear in the second or third year.

Tobacco, which would probably be as good as that grown to the right and left of us by the Portuguese and Spaniards. It is true that its cultivation proved a failure in Berbice, but it could not well have been otherwise considering the mode in which it was carried out; the Spaniards have an entirely different method, and it is well known that to this product was due the foundation of the colony of Martinique[1], which island has lost many of its inhabitants since the said cultivation has been neglected.

The cultivation of sugar, which is now the principal and practically the only industry, is not one which can be carried on by small or impecunious planters with any hope

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[1] *Le tabac, jadis l'une des sources de revenu les plus importantes de la colonie, n'a pu résister aux bas prix de la culture américaine.* Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Géographie. 1887.*

of success, and the obstinacy of our colonists who set their faces against any other undertaking is one of the chief reasons why so many remain in such poverty. There are innumerable examples of planters who having ten or even twenty slaves have worked with them for fifteen or twenty months and are then unable to get their cane crushed, thus losing all the results of their heavy labour and care.

In addition to the above mentioned, it would be easy to discover many other things with which one could earn one's living and put money by. But whereas people who come to these regions from Europe with nothing would be able to do nothing unless they received help and support we should in this matter have to follow the example of the English *mutatis mutandis*. Not only do the latter transport people to their colonies and give them the necessary ground but they furnish them in addition with food, cattle and the requisite materials for a certain necessary period. It is true that such an undertaking requires a great outlay, but this would be amply recouped in the end, as will be subsequently shown.

With nothing, nothing can be done; for this reason the time-expired soldiers and employees who remain in the country make little progress. These people are obliged either to wander about, trading with the Indians[1], if anyone will give them goods on credit (and this is done at exorbitant profits), or enter the service of one or other of the colonists; being as a rule of very bad behaviour and much addicted to drink they keep their situations but a short time and must then wander from pillar to post for a crust of bread, becoming in time very bad citizens of great danger to the Colony and totally unreliable in time of war. For this reason the Court of Justice has requested the Commander already on several occasions not to allow time-expired

[1] See pp. 250, 269 and 270.

soldiers to remain in the country but to compel them to depart for Europe on receiving their discharge, basing this request on very good grounds.

Those who trade among the Indians are not only unable to put anything by but generally act so badly towards the natives that several have already been murdered by the latter; others get poisoned and expose the Colony to the danger of war with the savage tribes, which would result in our ruin. For this reason it has been necessary to prohibit trading up in Essequibo for some time. And such has been the case with all those who have taken their discharge during the twelve years I have been in the Colony.

It is therefore requisite that those coming from Europe to settle here should be supported at the outset, and to do this with hope of success it would be necessary to furnish each family with the following:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Four black slaves (three new and one old) at 250 guilders | 1000 |
| One red hunter or fisher[1] | 150 |
| Meat for four years, 7 lbs. per week at 4 st. per lb., annually | 72.16 |
| Tools | 100 |
| Trading-wares | 200 |
| A peeling-mill for those wishing to sow | 250 |
| Beverages | 60 |
| Extra costs | 50 |
| Their fare per head | 30 |
| | [2]1944.16 |

Taking the total at 2000 guilders (to include omissions) we have a sum for which those people would have everything necessary for their subsistence for a period of two years, which would be long enough for coffee and cocoa planters. Rice, tobacco or cotton planters would only require enough for one year, since the first year would already bring in some revenue.

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[1] This would be a free Indian and the amount of his hire.

[2] There is an error of 32 guilders in this total; possibly an item has been omitted. 20 stuyvers went to a guilder.

It is computed that rice planters can with the aforesaid slaves, under the Lord's blessing, plant and tend twenty hogsheads of rice which, reckoned at 700 lbs. each and at one penny per pound net profit, would make

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 30 hhds. | the first year | 700 |
| | the second year | 1050 |
| | | 1750 guilders. |

These people would therefore be able after the lapse of two years to repay half the amount advanced them and to purchase one or two slaves; the latter would increase their revenue and in four or five years' time, at most, the capital would be repaid with proper interest whilst the people would be able to live well, increase their property yearly and become well-to-do burghers.

Those who plant coffee can with the aforesaid slaves plant and tend 4000 shrubs, which, reckoning each shrub at 1 lb. in the third or fourth year (this subsequently increasing), and each pound at 10 stuyvers would make 8000 guilders[1]. But as this product is liable to accidents and some shrubs bear earlier than others, let us say only 3000 guilders for the four years; therefore in four or five years' time they would also be able to repay capital and interest. Tobacco and cotton would in all probability be quite as successful.

Further, it would be necessary for the Honble. Co. to bind itself to take the crops at a certain price, such price to be proportionate to those obtained in Europe and sufficient to secure the Honble. Co. a profit, and also to furnish the colonists with all they require at reasonable prices, since such new-comers cannot have agents and have not the least knowledge of shipping, etc., and since without these precautions there might be much want.

[1] For the four years.

Hereby the Colony would attain a flourishing and, in course of time, a formidable state, and the interior (which is unknown) could be explored and cultivated, the lands which lie along the river devoted to growing sugar and rice, and those in the interior to other crops, by which many discoveries could doubtless be made which would bring great utility and profit. For this nothing is lacking but able and industrious people, and it is a shame (if I may use the word) for the Dutch, that two nations not to be compared with them for industry, namely, the Portuguese and the Spaniards, who are situated to the right and to the left of these colonies, and who are groaning under so hard, even slavish, a rule, are owners of so many treasures and so fortunate in their discoveries.

For such an undertaking we ought to begin, at first, with not too large a number at one time: 20 to 25 families would be enough at first, and, when these had been there for some three years and thus were able to teach and help others, we might go on with larger numbers.

The reason why so little has been discovered is that the old settlers through rooted habit and those born in the Colony through an inborn indifference, so strongly cling to their old way that nothing, not even the most convincing reasoning, can tear them away from it, and nothing in the world can induce them to any new undertaking, there being among them no industrious and enterprising persons.

The digging over of the sugar plantations is a proof hereof. They were advised to do this for many long years and never would, but when the practice had been made compulsory on the Company's plantation, and the example had been followed by one or two colonists there was so marked a difference both in the quantity and quality of the sugar that they were finally brought to it, but reluctantly and half-heartedly; this was one of the principal reasons of the considerable increase in the sugar crop.

Through the increase of the population discoveries would naturally and certainly be made which in the course of time would bring much profit to commerce and shipping, for just as our neighbours, the Portuguese and Spaniards, ship many products besides the above-mentioned we should be able to do the same, for we enjoy the same climate and like them have high and low, dry and humid regions, as well as lofty mountains.

In addition to an innumerable quantity of unknown drugs and wares that could be got it is known for certain that the following are found on Dutch territory:—

Ginger, cardamoms, balsam of copaiba, gum elemi[1], mastic[2], tacamahaka[3], caranna[4], copal[5] and several other gums the names of which are unknown, *lignum vitae*[6],

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[1] "*Gum Elemi* is a white rosin, inclining to greenish....The true *Gum Elemi* we have from Holland or Marseilles is a natural balsam for curing of wounds." Pomet, *Hist. of Drugs*, i. 193, Lond. *1748*.

[2] Obtained from the *Pistachia Lentiscus* of the Levant, the *Bursera gummifera* of the W. Indies, and the *Schinus molle* of Peru.

"The *Mastick* in tear...is a resinous gum which drops during the great heats, without incision, from the large branches and the trunk of the *Lentisk*." Pomet, *Op. cit.* i. 66.

[3] Joseph de Acosta, *History of the Indies*, mentions among the drugs brought from New Spain "the Tacamahaca and Caraña, which are also very medicinall." (Hakl. Soc. Ser. I. vol. lx. p. 260.) "Gum Tacamahaca...is of a very agreeable smell, like that of lavender and angelica. We have it from Madagascar and New Spain. It is principally used externally, and is in great esteem for all kinds of pains among the Indians." Pomet, *Op. cit.* i. 194.

[4] *Caraña*, a resin obtained from *Bursera accuminata*.

"This gum has such fine qualities that it is usually said what Tacamahaca cannot cure Caranna can....It is called *Caranna Gummi*, or *Caragna*, from Cartagena, the place of its production in the Spanish West Indies." Pomet, *Op. cit.* i. 195.

[5] "A hard translucent odoriferous resin." Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*

"Copal forms the efficient substitute for amber in the modern vehicle of painting." Gullick and Timbs, *Painting popularly explained*, p. 211. Lond. *1859*.

[6] "Wood of Brasill, wood of Guaicum, called Lignum vitae." Blundeville, *Exercises* (London, *1594*), p. 261.

The resin obtained from this tree is the *guaiacum officinale*.

letter-wood[1], ebony and different kinds of wood, yellow, violet, red and variegated; skins of deer, does and wild-asses; lapis bezoar[2]; quassia ligna[3] or bastard cinnamon; quassia fistula[4].

In the plains there are wild nutmeg-trees in abundance, having foliage, blossom, mace and fruit exactly like the cultivated sort but different only in size and smell (which is faint); possibly by cultivation and proper treatment they would improve.

In all the grounds that have been cleared there is found a shrub similar in every part—branch, leaf, blossom and seed—to tea, so that there is little doubt it is the same plant wanting only cultivation and the necessary preparation or treatment. Also codex sumarouba[5] and radix jalappa[6] and a root which is an unfailing remedy for snake bites, healing them in an incredibly short time.

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[1] "The wood of the South American tree *Brosimum Aubletii*, which is marked with black spots resembling letters or hieroglyphics." Murray, *New Eng. Dict.* Also commonly known as "leopard-wood."

[2] "A calculus or concretion found in the stomach or intestines of some animals, chiefly ruminants, formed of concentric layers of animal matter deposited round some foreign substance, which serves as a nucleus." Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*

Acosta (*Op. cit.* pp. 292–295) devotes a chapter to the description of bezoar stones.

[3] *Cassia lignea:* not to be confounded with the *lignum quassiæ* of p. 506.

"*Cassia lignea* differs from cinnamon, in that it is weaker, darker colour'd, and when chew'd in the mouth, more glutinous, dry and harsh; whence it appears that the *cassia lignea* tree, and that of the cinnamon, are two different trees." Pomet, *Op. cit.* i. p. 78.

[4] "Plato and Dyascorides meane and speke of two manere Cassia. That one is callyd cassia fistula and the other cassia lignea." Bartholomæus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, Lib. XVII. cap. xxvii. (Westminster, *1495*.)

"They bring also (from the Indies) for the physicians cassia fistula." Acosta, *Op. cit.* p. 260.

[5] Or *simaruba*; bitter-wood. The timber of a tropical American genus of trees *Xylopia*.

[6] "Jalap is a grey resinous root of a plant of four or five feet high

The construction of saw-mills would furnish a considerable revenue on account of the large quantities of timber fit for ship-building and carpenters' and joiners' work, no European wood coming up to it in durability.

From a certain tree called *mani*[1] (growing in abundance in the low grounds) the Indians get a sort of pitch which they call caximan, as fit for use as the ordinary sort.

On the sea-shore are found waves of a kind of bitumen that can be employed as tar, and being quite as good is known as Barbados tar, for it is in general use there. Courawa or peat could be cultivated in abundance to be used instead of hemp, as it would serve the same purpose.

In addition to the above the country has quantities of game, fish, plants, etc. wanting only a larger population and careful, industrious folk to derive proper advantage from them.

It is unnecessary to dilate upon the advantages which would accrue from the above-mentioned project both in dues and taxes to the Honble. Co. and in the consumption of merchandize and the increase in navigation, since anyone will, upon consideration, easily grasp this.

## Art. 2.

In addition to the ten years' freedom from poll-tax which the Honble. Co. grants to fresh colonists necessity demands the conception of some efficient means of exempting the small planters from payment of the heavy

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the leaves of which nearly resemble those of the Ivy." Pomet, *Op. cit.* i. p. 31.

"Jalap. A well-known drug of which the best kind is obtained from *Exogonium purga*, but other species are also collected under the same name." *Treasury of Botany*, *1866*, p. 634.

[1] "*Moronobea coccinea*, the Hog Gum tree....The resin has been employed medicinally as a substitute for balsam of copaiba, and in Jamaica pitch plaisters are made of it. In Guiana and Brazil, where it is called Mani or Oanani, the natives make torches with it." *Treasury of Botany*, *1866*, p. 757.

freight and costs of the goods they send to Europe, far exceeding those paid by neighbouring colonies. Shipowners will reply that goods sent to Essequibo are carried free whilst freight is paid on those to neighbouring colonies, whereby the shipowners are enabled to carry home at lower rates and yet with greater profit. This objection being well based cannot be refuted; nevertheless, it does not remove the grievance. For the greater part, indeed three-fourths of the colonists, ordering no goods from Europe, derive no advantage from the free carriage out, and must yet pay as much freight for their sugar and other produce as do those who receive considerable quantities of merchandize; the former are therefore obliged to help pay the freight for the wealthier, from whom, moreover, they have to purchase what goods they require, and at a profit of at least 25 %. The small trader therefore suffers a double loss, which is to be deplored, since he is thereby considerably hampered, finally loses courage and becomes a ruined man, thus causing great hindrance to the growth of the Colony, as we have already seen. There are in this Colony really only five or six individuals who profit by the free carriage out, and upon these all the rest (with few exceptions) are and must remain dependent—concerning this there is universal complaint.

## Art. 3.

The jealousy existing between the Court of Policy and that of Justice and the everlasting disputes and animosities between the respective members concerning pre-eminence and precedence[1] is also a matter that cries for redress and should be put an end to, for it reaches further than is imagined and is of evil consequences, especially in time of war or disturbance, when it is almost impossible to get the

[1] From the first despatch that Storm wrote (see p. 194) it may be seen that this jealousy was of old standing.

necessary orders issued or, being issued, put into execution; for some years past it has not been possible to get those two bodies to sit together, as was often required in order to frame certain measures. This jealousy breaks out even at funerals and festive gatherings, which never end without unpleasantness of some kind, frequently leading to great difficulties, and this is moreover one of the chief reasons of the long-existing breach between the Honble. Co.'s employees and the private planters, when nothing is more necessary for the welfare and prosperity of the colonies than union and harmony—*concordia res parvae crescunt*[1].

ART. 4.

It is necessary that the limits of the Company's territory should be known, in order successfully to oppose the continual approach of the neighbouring Spaniards, who, if they are not checked, will at last shut us in on all sides, and who, under pretext of establishing their Missions, are fortifying themselves everywhere. And, because the limits are unknown, we dare not openly oppose them, as might very easily be done, by means of the Carib nation, their sworn enemies. Please study in this connection the accompanying map, drawn up by the Spaniards themselves and copied from theirs[2].

ART. 5.

Some years ago a petition was presented to VV. HH. by a company of colonists for permission to dig for iron, which petition was not followed up by reason of the promoter's death. It led however to an enquiry being made into the hopes upon which the petitioners had built and into the probability of profit arising from the scheme.

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[1] Sallust (*Jugurtha*, x. 6) has *concordia parvae res crescunt.*

[2] This map is again referred to by Storm in *1756.* (See p. 349.) It was reproduced (No. 20) in the Atlas to the Ven. Arbitr. Brit. Case.

The ore examined by the miners was found to be very rich in the best kind of iron and according to them much better even than the Swedish. Considering the cost of firewood in Europe and the ease with which the same is abundantly procurable at the spot where the iron lies here it is computed that the latter would cost much less than in Europe and could be sold at a very reasonable price. For this reason a quantity could be sold annually to the neighbouring English and Spaniards, etc., who are always in need of it, whereby a fair profit could be made. Herein it were well to remember that whereas in working the iron-mines richer metals would in all probability be discovered, such discoveries would then have been made free of cost, it being frequently the case in America that in poor or indifferent ore richer metals are found. The same may be said of the copper-mines, the non-success of which must not be attributed to the bad quality or scarcity of ore but to the bad and brutal behaviour of the manager, T. Hildebrand, and the ill-treatment he meted out.

ART. 6.

The frequent and well-founded complaints which the Spaniards make of the damage done to them by the Carib nation well deserve Your Honours' attention, not only on account of the damage which the Spaniards suffer, for by their harsh and unjust dealings they give cause for this, but on account of the inevitable consequences which in course of time might befall the Colony. For it is the height of imprudence in the colonists that, urged on solely by an unworthy thirst for gain, they themselves put into the hands of that warlike nation, who beyond dispute are the bravest and most numerous on this coast, the weapons which in future may bring about their own destruction— I mean the fire-arms, powder, and ball so often given them in exchange for slaves. The meagre excuse to which they

resort, namely, that these are only bad trade guns, is far from satisfactory, for not only are good ones sometimes found among the trade guns, but this dealing has already brought about this result, that the great terror which the tribes formerly had of such weapons has almost disappeared, which is in itself a bad thing. Wherefore it should be deemed of the greatest importance that that trade be absolutely prohibited, and that under heavy penalties.

It must further be considered that if this prohibition extended only to the Colonies of Essequibo and Demerara, this would cause much damage to the colonists, without in any way answering the purpose, for a much greater number are sold by the neighbouring colonies. The itinerant traders from Surinam, who have to pass the Company's trading place in Wacquepo and Moruka, and have already greatly damaged that Indian trade, always have an ample supply of them.

The wantonness of the rovers, or traders, up in Essequibo should also be forcibly restrained, for by it the tribes are greatly embittered. The wantonness goes so far that certain of these do not hesitate even to go with some tribes to make war upon others, or greatly to maltreat them, often carrying off free people and selling them as slaves, and abusing the Indian women. Hence it was that in the year 1747 the rovers G. Goritz and H. Bannink were murdered by the Indians[1], some others poisoned, and others forced to flee. These wanton deeds cannot be punished by the Judge as they deserve, for legal proof is always wanting; moreover, the Indians are not believed, and the Indians who have been maltreated dwelling too far away, and having never seen the European colonies, dare not come down to complain. Even if this trade up in Essequibo were prohibited, this would cause no damage

[1] See pp. 231 and 250.

to the Colony, for those people would then turn to some other and more useful means of livelihood, and the Carib nation would still bring slaves enough. Besides, they could betake themselves in the direction of the Orinoco.

### Art. 7.

An experience of many years has shown that of all the red slaves that are brought down by the postholders of Arinda very few remain alive but when sent to the various plantations nearly all die, this causing great loss; the number brought down is fairly large and would be much larger if trade in the Upper Essequibo were prohibited, wherefore it would be much more profitable for the Honble. Co. if those slaves were sold and turned into money.

A great many objections will be raised against the aforesaid prohibition—e.g. that many people who trade up there will be bereft of their livelihood, that most of them have many old debts outstanding among the Indians, etc. But these are very easy to refute, for to my knowledge not a single example can be adduced of any itinerant trader ever having acquired a competency, let alone riches; on the contrary, they are always poor and laden with debts. Nor can this be otherwise, since for every journey they have to buy the necessary trading wares at a high price and on credit, and frequently not bringing back sufficient to pay what they owe have to hand over their slaves or other goods cheaply and in this fashion never get clear but always remain poor and in debt. Moreover, the blessing of the Lord can never be expected to rest on that trade, on account of the godless life those itinerant traders lead. As for the old debts, that reason will never cease to exist, for it will always be held out as a pretext.

ART. 8.

The regulations issued to the burghers for observance in the event of hostilities are not heeded in the least and even the principal citizens, who should set a good example to others, are the greatest defaulters; this being a matter of the highest importance, orders should be issued by the higher authorities and such would then have to be obeyed.

ART. 9.

The two churchwardens are such in name only, for they see to nothing at all and have let the church at Ampa become so dilapidated that there is no restoring it; it will have to be entirely rebuilt, to the great shame of the colonists, for in the neighbouring colonies the churches are kept in much better repair. I have spoken about it often enough and even offered to lend a carpenter and foreman belonging to the Honble. Co. to look after it, but this offer not having been accepted, I let the matter drop. Even since YY. HH. have given permission that certain monies of the $1\frac{1}{2}$ % poor-tax may be used for the work not a word has been said about it[1].

ART. 10.

The regulations concerning the Orphan Chamber[2] provisionally approved by YY. HH. also require improving and better administering, since those matters were not put upon

[1] In *1752* Storm wrote:—"The memorandum I handed YY. HH. has had so great an effect that the free church is about to be re-built and that the Orphan Chamber is now scrupulously exact in its doings." See p. 283.

[2] The Orphan Chamber was a characteristic institution in the Dutch colonies. The British found it not only in Guiana but also at the Cape. In the latter colony it was abolished in its original form in *1834*: in British Guiana it lasted till *1845*, when the funds which it held in trust were vested in an Administrator-General whose duties included the guardianship of orphans.

a proper footing, there having been instances of widowers or widows with children marrying again without being required to deliver any account or inventory. It is considered sufficient for the parents to appear before the orphan-masters and to name any sum they please, depriving their children in this manner of their paternal or maternal inheritance and making it possible for such children to be greatly defrauded, a custom greatly contravening the laws and usages of the Netherlands[1].

ART. 11.

The custom of doing work in the Honble. Co.'s smithies for the burghers and of giving one half the payment to the Company and the other half to the foreman was all very well formerly, when things were reasonably dealt with; then it brought a fair amount of profit, but at present that is no longer the case, for the work is now mostly brought to be done on the slaves' free days (when the Honble. Co. gets nothing), and very little is brought at other times. In this way the Honble. Co. suffers much loss in coals, iron, etc., so that either the aforesaid permission should be withdrawn or work should be absolutely prohibited on the free days.

ART. 12.

Since the establishment of what the Spanish call a "hatte" would bring much profit I will add a brief project here for the same[2].

For such an establishment the following outlay would be necessary:—

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[1] See Note on p. 271.

[2] The Spanish term for a stock-ranch is *hato*. *Hatte* was the word used (and probably invented) by Courthial in his petition (written in French) to the West India Company, sent through Storm's mediation in *August, 1748* (see p. 242). Storm appears to have adopted the word and to have developed Courthial's idea in this article of his report.

| | |
|---|---|
| Purchase of 600 oxen from the Spanish at 8 pesos each, which being paid for in kind and reckoned at 6 pesos in money amount to | 9000 guilders. |
| Each canoe carrying 20 head makes 30 journeys, each journey computed as costing 60 gldrs. in food and payment for the Indians | 1800 „ |
| Purchase of 4 slaves to look after the "hatte" | 1000 „ |
| An overseer of the "hatte" at 24 gldrs. per month and two attendants at 15 gldrs. each would amount to 648 gldrs. annually; this for four years, after which period slaughtering would commence, amounts to | 2592 „ |
| Total | 14392 guilders. |

Beginning with the fifth year 200 animals could be slaughtered annually for the maintenance of the employees and garrison; these at 50 gldrs. amount to 10,000 gldrs. and there could still be sold 40 head for 2000 gldrs.

This would leave 60 head annually for the increase of the "hatte," if we reckon only upon 300 calves per year, which is a very low computation and one that would certainly be exceeded, leading to an increase in the number to be sold every year. There would be no fears concerning the sale, for the neighbouring colonies and the English would come for more than we could supply.

A further profit on the slaughtered animals would be got from the hides and grease, and would considerably reduce the costs to be annually borne.

Considering that every workman costs the Honble. Co. 546 lbs. and every soldier 364 lbs. of meat per year, this at 4 stuyvers per pound amounts to 109 gldrs. 4 st. for the former

and to 72 gldrs. 16 st. for the latter. Without computing expenses, the rations of meat (excluding the Commander's requirements, double rations, and slaves) amount annually to 5985 gldrs. 16 st., being for 29,929 lbs.; reckoning each animal at 300 lbs. at least makes 6000 lbs., which, after deduction of the aforesaid 29,929 lbs., leaves 30,071 lbs. available for the Commander's requirements, double rations, plantations, Fort slaves and brick-works.

From the above it is easy to estimate of what profit such a "hatte" would be.

ART. 13.

Lands in the River Essequibo having formerly been allotted upon a very lavish scale, there being at present not a single piece left along the banks, every possible care was taken when the River Demerara was thrown open. But every effort was made to frustrate such care by getting friends and relatives to apply for allotments, which were subsequently transferred by purchase or otherwise without any work of importance having been done upon them; a clearing made and some sugar-cane or bread planted was all, and if no serious precautions are taken matters will gradually reach the old footing. Again, people who have just acquired two or three slaves apply for the full 200 acres and at the least objection being offered immediately ask whether they are not as good as others, adding that they hope to get by their industry what they have not already got.

ART. 14.

The practice lately introduced by YY. HH. of giving the carpenters more wages on condition that they provide their own tools is, with deference be it said, prejudicial, such increase of wages bringing no advantage, for the carpenters not being bound to furnish the slave-carpenters with tools, the latter have to get them from the Company's warehouse, and so the former use but little or none of their own.

ART. 15.

It were also well if regulations were framed by YY. HH. concerning the English shipping, for all English vessels, large or small, pay the same tonnage dues, very little outgoing dues and no incoming ones at all. Besides this, they declare as much or as little outgoing syrup as they please, with little chance of detection, wherefore this matter should be regulated and a gauger and measurer appointed. The English should then be forbidden, under pain of heavy penalties, to import and the colonists to export casks that have not first been measured and marked by the gauger. The former should also be seriously admonished to hand in an accurate list of their cargo on entering the river, without keeping back aught.

ART. 16.

Lastly, concerning the military force in Essequibo. It were desirable that YY. HH. would be good enough to prevent so many Romish soldiers from being sent over, especially Brabanters and Flemish, who are bitterly Romish, of evil conduct and very little to be trusted ; at present the garrison consists entirely of Catholics.

Secondly, an old custom has crept in, which has now become almost a law, that if any soldiers or employees owe aught to private planters they are not discharged at the expiration of their term but must continue to serve until such debts be paid, so that we are frequently obliged to keep men who scarcely earn their bread, let alone their wages ; and this, too, makes desperate men, who see no chance of ever getting clear, ready to adopt any evil course.

Thirdly, the present uniform is unfit for this country ; whatever is made of wool does not last but is soon worn out, wherefore it were much better if it were made of Flemish linen.

And it would be of great advantage both for the employees and otherwise if the Honble. Co.'s shop were re-established, concerning which I hope to give YY. HH. verbal explanation.

This is briefly, Your Honours, what I have deemed it my duty to submit to YY. HH., being ready to give YY. HH. such fuller elucidation as may be desired; I have taken the liberty of submitting it in writing because I cannot trust my memory and fear to forget a great deal, as has possibly still occurred. Remaining ever with the deepest esteem and respect,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble and most obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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*The following letter, communicated to the compilers of this work through the courtesy of Dr Robert Fruin, the learned Archivist of Zeeland, was probably addressed*[1] *to Count William Bentinck, Heer van Rhoon en Pendrecht (b. 1704, d. 1773). He was the son of the nobleman who accompanied William III to England by a daughter of Sir William Temple; as staunch a friend of William IV, Prince of Orange, as his father had been of the English King, and greatly instrumental in restoring the Stadholdership to the House of Orange in 1747. During the minority of William V* (i.e. *from 1751 to 1766*) *and even later, Bentinck was regarded as the patron of Essequibo and Demerara (especially the latter), interest-*

[1] This is on the authority of Frans Alexander van Rappard (b. *1793*, d. *1867*; married Ewoudina Louisa Elisabeth Storm van 's Gravesande), whose collection of autographs gained him European reputation and who, when sending the letter to a member of the 's Gravesande family in *1833*, says, in his covering note: "It might perhaps be interesting to look somewhat further into the life and doings of that Laurens." (*Mogelijk was het wel interessant het leven en bedrijf van dien Laurens wat verder na te sporen.*)

*ing evidence of which is given in the various letters addressed to him by the two Clarkes* (*see pp.* 421, 422, 433 *and* 479), *in one by the Director-General* (*see pp.* 589–592) *and in two written by him to Gedney Clarke, jr.* (*see pp.* 426, 427, 444 *and* 445). *His erstwhile close friendship with the Duke of Brunswick* (*the guardian of the Prince of Orange from 1759 to 1766*), *strengthened his influence in the Netherlands, whilst his later hostility to that statesman did not weaken it either in the country or with the Prince.*

Monsieur,

N'ayant pu avoir ce matin l'honneur de vous voir pour prendre vos ordres avant mon départ pour l'Amérique et étant obligé de partir cet après-midi je prends la liberté par ces peu de lignes de m'acquitter de ce devoir et de vous prier de vouloir m'honorer de vos ordres si vous me jugez capable de vous rendre quelques services ; je me ferai une gloire de les exécuter ponctuellement.

J'ay l'honneur de joindre à celle-cy la description que vous avez demandée à mon fils, qui aussi bien que moy prend la liberté de vous assurer de son profond respect.

Nous prenons la liberté aussi de nous recommander en votre protection.

Je finis, vous assurant que je serai toute ma vie avec un très profond respect,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très
obéissant serviteur,
L. Storm van 's Gravesande.

A la Haye le 21 Mars 1751[1].

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[1] Though the above letter was written in March and speaks of his immediate departure for the Colony Storm did not finally leave

P.R.O. 469/1

Berbice, March 14, 1752.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

I have the honour to inform YY. HH. that after having been detained in Ireland by contrary winds for three weeks I departed thence on the 6th January and arrived here safely, thank God, on the 29th February, after having been exposed to very severe storms and to great danger, both from the aforementioned storms, from leakage in the ship and from drifting on to the Moorish coast, &c. It pleased Almighty God graciously to preserve me and my fellow travellers and to bring us here in perfect health.

It is my intention to set out for Essequibo in two or three days' time, longing as I am after my family, which according to news received here is in good health. I hope to have the honour to send YY. HH. a circumstantial report of the state of the colonies by Captain J. Crey, these lines being alone sent in the fulfilment of my duty, to commend myself and mine to Your Honours' kind favour and protection and to assure YY. HH. that no one can be with more honest attachment, deeper respect and esteem,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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European shores until *January, 1752* (*vide supra*). The cause of this delay is unknown; it is also uncertain whether Storm spent the interval in Holland, in Zeeland, or in Great Britain. William IV, Prince of Orange, whose health had long been failing, died on *Oct. 22, 1751* (after an actual illness of only five days—see *Archives...de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, Ser. IV. tom. 2 (*1909*), p. xii) and 20 years later the Director-General recalls certain words spoken to him by the Prince, as he says, "upon my departure" (see p. 636).

P.R.O. 469/5

April 20, 1752.

(Extract)

By the vessel "De Jonge Steven," Capt. R. Maerksprang, I had the honour to advise YY. HH. of my safe arrival in Berbice. I left that colony on the 19th March in Capt. Davidson's barque and arriving in this river on the 20th, reached Fort Zeelandia on the 21st, being met at the Honble. Co.'s lighthouse by Councillors Monk and van Doorn, who had been sent down for that purpose by Mr Secretary Spoors.

The time since my arrival here has been much too short to enable me to give YY. HH. a circumstantial report of the state in which I have found or shall find everything. Still, so far as I already know, everything is in fair order; I have made a close inspection of the Fort, warehouse and dwellings, and have the honour to send herewith a list of what I find in the warehouse. In my absence a warehouse has been built for Mr Secretary, a house for Brouwer, the carpenter, and one for Maerten Schreuder; one commenced for the Chief Surgeon, a site cleared for the warehouse and a new roof put on the church.

I exhibited my commission[1] to the Court of Policy and such was made public by proclamation of the said Court.

On the 22nd of March my son[2], upon the authority of His late Serene Highness of glorious memory, took the oath before Messieurs Spoors and Monk, but his presentation is postponed until the beginning of next month (May), for by that time Capt. Crey will have departed; his ship, lying in Demerara, we are now busily engaged in loading with sugar.

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[1] That, probably, appointing him Director-General.

[2] His eldest son, Jonathan Samuel (see p. 32).

Mr Secretary Spoors having communicated to me Your Honours' letter addressed to the Court of Policy by "D'Essequebsche Welvaeren" I considered Your Honours' remarks concerning the Assistant and heard Mr Secretary's views on the matter; the latter agreeing with all else, maintains that the Assistant is at his sole disposal and must present himself at the office at eight o'clock every morning to receive his orders. In order therefore to prevent dissension and being quite certain that my son[1] (although he has always been very willing and has never refused any work) would never agree to such slavish service so little in keeping with his dignity, I thought it best to discharge him from his post and the Honble. Co.'s service, as I did in the presence of the Secretary, whom he thanked for the courtesy shown him whilst in his service. Had he foreseen this when he was in Europe he would have stayed there, for an officer's commission was several times offered him and he more than once asked me to procure his discharge, as he had the honour to inform some gentlemen of Your Honours' body verbally; but I always refused his demand, since I desired to keep him in Your Honours' service and since (if I be permitted to say so) he is not wanting either in zeal or ability. Meanwhile, and until YY. HH. shall have been pleased to dispose of the vacant assistantship I have left Michiel Loof in provisional occupation of that post and since my duties and writing are increasing daily and it is almost impossible for me to make the necessary copies and keep the books, I have engaged a writer at my own cost for my own service, especially since my son, the former Assistant, is shortly about to depart for Berbice, where he has been offered the administration of two plantations and where he will also be in charge of that belonging to Baron

[1] His second son, Warnard Jacob (see p. 32).

van Grovesteyns[1] in Demerara ; although all this will bring him in more, I would much rather have seen him in Your Honours' service.

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P.R.O. 469/37

August 4, 1752.

(Extracts)

Things are going on very well in Demerara and there is every probability that the Colony will make rapid progress and become populous, for even since my return several plots have been allotted and some mills (of which there has hitherto been a great dearth) are on the point of being erected—two for Mr Gedney Clarke[2], of Barbados, one for Mr Markoe, of St Eustatius[3] (who, with some other planters

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[1] Lieutenant-General Douwe van Sirtema, Baron van Grovestins, Master of the Horse to William IV, Prince of Orange, purchased lands in Demerara for a plantation in *1751*, subsequently sending two sons of his to the Colony. The elder of these, Willem August, was appointed by the States-General a Commissioner to enquire into the reorganisation of Essequibo and Demerara in *1789* and Governor from *1793* to *1795*, whilst the younger, Louis Idsert, became Fiscal of Demerara, and returned to the Netherlands in *1795*. The Demerara plantation, named "Prinses Caroline" (which is mentioned by Storm in *1759* as making good progress, see p. 367), remained the property of the family until *1820*. Cf. Notes on pp. 110 and 249.

[2] See pp. 39–42.

[3] Saint Eustatius (17° 29′ N. 62° 55′ W.) has, with the exception of two short intervals, been in the possession of the Dutch, the first settlers, since *1639*. A mountainous mass of volcanic rock covered with vegetation, and having an area of only 190 square miles, the island was at one time the centre of the whole trade of the West Indies. When Admiral Rodney seized it in *1781* he carried off treasure amounting to four millions of pounds sterling. Its population at that date was 25,000 : to-day it is about a tenth of that number. The chief productions are maize, sugar, cotton and tobacco ; the language spoken and the mode of life are, curiously enough, quite English.

of those places and Saba[1], are coming to settle there), one for Engel Lonke and one for Mr van Rode. This will bring a good deal of assistance to those who are without means.

One of the islands is now being cleared to make room for the Commander's house; I have not yet been able to commence the road through dearth of free Indians, who are still unprocurable, and to employ slaves for this or any other work in Demerara is a sheer impossibility, since at the present moment I cannot get even the necessary work done at the Fort here; if matters go on like this everything will become dilapidated. If YY. HH. will kindly take the trouble to examine the inventory of Fort Zeelandia it will be seen that at present I have fifteen negro carpenters and masons less than there were at the decease of the late Mr Gelskerke, there being now no more than twenty-three negro workmen and mechanics altogether, with which number (still daily decreasing as it must by death and old age) it is impossible to do the work. Where there is subtraction without addition a stop must come, and I find so much necessary work that I am at my wits' end. The Fort bridge and batteries are in ruins; all the gun-carriages rotten, the windows and doors in a similar state through want of paint—in a word, all the wood-work of the Fort must be renewed, and this in addition to the other things that want doing.

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[1] Saba (17° 39′ N., 63° 19′ W.) is the smallest of the Dutch West India Islands that is inhabited, having an area of only 15 square miles. It is said to have been discovered by Columbus in *1492* on a Sabbath—hence its name—and came into the possession of the Netherlands in *1640*. The whole isle forms a single mountain, formerly a volcano; its inhabitants—about 2000 in number—are noted for the simplicity of their lives, their sobriety and their morality, mostly reaching a good old age. Raynal said of them that they possessed abundance without the seductive snare of wealth, whilst Kingsley spoke of them as the least degenerate of all West Indians. Sugar, cotton and coffee are the chief products.

Whilst I am speaking of paint I cannot refrain from informing YY. HH. *en passant* that instead of common red paint, as indicated in the invoice of stores that came by "D'Essequeebsche Welvaeren," we received only brick-dust, and this too reckoned at sixpence a pound.

I am glad that the memorandum[1] I handed YY. HH. has had so great an effect that the free church is about to be re-built and that the Orphan Chamber is now scrupulously exact in its doings. But I must complain most bitterly that the said memorandum has been put to so mean a use, that a copy (whether a true one or not I do not yet know) of what I handed YY. HH. has somehow been obtained, that this copy has been sent out here and that A. van Doorn, Councillor of Justice, has been through the whole Colony with that copy, describing its contents in the most hateful colours. More especially were my words in the preface concerning the galley, in Art. 2 concerning the oppression of the poorer planters and the reasons why no discoveries were made, in Art. 6 concerning the itinerant traders and in Art. 13 concerning the lands, reproduced in the most hateful and detestable manner, and the rest was ridiculed in every possible way in order to provoke general hatred towards me. Since my upright aim was the interest of my masters and the welfare of the colonists and since I reported nothing but the bare and honest truth, of which all upright folk here are convinced and which I am always able to prove, it is hard to experience such treatment. I imagined that all writings handed to YY. HH. were sacred and safe from any man's hand; how, if such things happen, can a chief discharge his duty conscientiously and submit the whole truth to his masters without exposing himself to the hatred of the evil-minded? Had there been any selfish motives behind

[1] See p. 271.

my words I might have consoled myself—and I have not only to receive in my house and at my table but have to sit in Court with a man who has treated me in so shameful a manner; how painful this must be to me I leave to the wise judgment of YY. HH. I am poor, Noble and Right Honble. Sirs, but I take pride in my poverty; to possess naught else than what is my due according to strictest justice gives me a calm conscience, but I flatter myself that I am an honest man and to such an one nothing is more painful than to be attacked in that which he prizes most highly, his honour.

I am quite convinced that a copy of my memorandum was not taken with Your Honours' consent, but whoever did so is all the more culpable, his conduct more inexcusable.

. . . . .

Since my return I have kept a watchful eye upon the frauds practised by the English syrup dealers and have caught a man named Newton, whose barque I caused to be unexpectedly searched by the Assistant and the warehouse-master; they found 40 casks of molasses more than appeared on his manifest. For this I made him pay double duty to the Honble. Co. and a fine besides, and have given notice that in future the punishment will be confiscation of barque and cargo. It seems as if the English cannot refrain from cheating[1], wherefore the appointment of a searcher or assayer is very necessary, as I already had the honour to submit to YY. HH.

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[1] Well substantiated cases of fraud, such as that cited above and subsequent ones (see pp. 386, 632 and 639), prove that this charge was not founded only on prejudice against the English nation. Storm, though once admitting that he had "not much inclination for English" (see p. 631) had great admiration for their methods (see pp. 211, 256, 257 and 428) and their bravery (see pp. 664 and 668) and was not niggardly in his acknowledgments when such were due (see pp. 444 and 625). Cf. also pp. 39–43.

P.R.O. 469/48

August 31, 1752.

(Extract)

Since the departure of "D'Elisabeth en Johanna," which left on the 25th of this month, I have received a letter from Mr Gedney Clarke in Barbados, whereof I deem it my duty to send YY. HH. a copy[1], from which it will be seen that he persists in his intention of having the mines worked but first desires to have Your Honours' written charter. I have not yet had an opportunity of answering the letter

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[1] P.R.O. 469/49

Barbados, *July 30, 1752.*

(Extract)

It will always give me pleasure to hear of your well doing, for with reason I wish the Company had made an addition to your salary, a poor allowance it is for a gentleman in your situation at present. I wish you had the money in your pocket that the building the new church will cost.

I am well satisfied with the resolution of the Directors which they have been pleased to communicate to you by the "Achilles" but I choose to have a special commission or grant from them to open and search for a mine or mines in my plantation called "New Walcheren" now or at any time I may think proper rendering and paying one-fifth part of the net proceed from such mine to the Company.

It will be attended with great expence to make this search, therefore, as we are all mortal and the present Directors may be removed I am sure the gentlemen cannot take amiss my asking for this grant before I make a beginning. I wish I had the honour of a correspondance with the Directors, I would acquaint them how greatly the interest of the Colony is neglected and on the other hand how beneficial it might be not only to the Company but to the inhabitants if properly conducted, the way and manner how I refer you to my letter of the 9th instant.

I hope the Directors will pardon me in taking this liberty, and that you will also, as what I have said is for the good of the Colony.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

GEDNEY CLARKE.

and shall take advantage of the first occasion that offers itself to do so circumstantially and also to inform him that he is quite at liberty to write direct to YY. HH., of which he seems to be in doubt[1]. I cannot understand how he has got hold of that idea, but think it right to disabuse him, since he writes that he wishes he had the honour of a correspondence with YY. HH. when &c.

This gentleman being a man of judgment and of large means, having the welfare of this Colony really at heart and a right conception of what is required for such welfare, is fully worthy of Your Honours' attention.

He is now commencing the construction of a water-mill in Demerara, to be followed by two horse-mills, it being his intention to establish three plantations there. He is making great haste with the first in order to assist the smaller planters who, though doing their best, are so dependent upon the two or three mills there that they cannot get their cane crushed except upon harsh and unreasonable terms that give them no chance.

This will now cease through the aid of Mr Clarke, and of Mr Marcou, of St Eustatius, and if a few others set up mills that Colony will begin to hold up its head and will, in a short time, I think, surpass this.

This week I sent out the Honble. Co.'s creoles, armed, upon the track of some runaway negroes who are hiding on the west side of this river; they have orders not to return until they have captured the latter, dead or alive. These nests must be routed out at once; the example of Surinam (where a few months ago another plantation was deserted) must make us careful herein. *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*[2].

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[1] The first letter from Clarke to the Directors will be found in its chronological place, but as a Note, on pp. 295–299. Cf. pp. 39–42.

[2] We have been unable to trace the authorship of this quotation. In a work by one Jacobus a Villascusa entitled *Dialogi quattuor super*

There is a rumour here that some negroes have made their appearance up in Essequibo, but since the Postholder of Arinda has not yet come down (being prevented by the high water), I am not yet certain about the matter, but have, under a promise of good payment, strongly persuaded the Indians of the Akawoi tribe living below the Post to go out and capture them, and they have promised me to do so. I presume they will turn out to be runaways from Berbice.

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P.R.O. 469/55

November 1, 1752.

(Extract)

I received a letter last week from the Commandant of Orinoco, informing me that he expected the Governor-General of Cumaná there about New Year, wherefore he kindly requested me to send him one of our yachts, such as we use here to go up and down the river. I shall send him one about the middle of November, together with some hardware for which he also asks, and shall receive mules in payment, which are in readiness there; it is my opinion that we must keep on friendly terms with this man, since that will always be more to our advantage than to our disadvantage, and I doubt not that in this I shall have Your Honours' approbation.

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*auspicato Hispaniar. principis emortuali die* (Antwerpiae, *1498*), the only known copy of which is, as we write, in the possession of Herr Ludwig Rosenthal, of Munich, the line occurs on the title-page, but, so we are informed, without indication in the book itself of its source.

Mr Edward Bensly, Professor of Latin in the University College of Wales, points out that A. Otto in his *Sprichwörter der Römer* gives under *alienus 3* a large number of proverbial sayings containing the same thought and that John Owen (*Epigrammatum* I. 147) bases on it his line *Felix quem faciunt aliorum cornua cautum.*

P.R.O. 469/61

December 16, 1752.

(Extract)

Since the departure of "De Goude Spoor" nothing of importance has occurred, except that every day more and more people are arriving from St Eustatius and St Christopher in order to establish themselves in Demerara, so that it is evident that that Colony will next year (when they have started work) begin to equal this in numbers; amongst the new-comers are several very wealthy people. It is a great pleasure to me to be permitted to see the growth and success of these Colonies and to be able with good reason to expect still more of them, for the real interest of the Company and the success of the Colonies have always been dear to my heart.

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P.R.O. 469/65

April 14, 1753.

(Extracts)

Your Honours' resolution concerning the petition of those desirous of removing their plantations to Demerara is very reasonable and just. I warned them of it beforehand, but think it my duty to inform YY. HH. of all such petitions, since, if I took upon myself to reject them, I should cause much displeasure, everyone not being open to reason.

This removal of plantations from here to Demerara will now cease, for that Colony will soon be full if the influx goes on at the same rate. At the last meeting of the Court of Policy lands were allotted for thirty-seven plantations and at the next the petitions will not be much less in number. Among the petitioners there are many very

well-to-do people, so that it is evident that that Colony will in a short time be in a very flourishing condition; wherefore I proposed to the Court that in allotting lands the river frontage should be decreased and that instead of giving 600 roods of frontage for a thousand acres not more than 400 roods should be given. This course, too, was adopted, whereby it will be possible to lay out an additional number of plantations.

I foresee that in a short time everything will have been granted, and there will be no more land remaining. Wherefore, I have sent away Pilot J. Grootendorst to measure the Rivers Waini and Pomeroon; he has returned, but he has not entirely satisfied me with his report, so that I shall [order] it to be gone over again once more by the other pilot.

. . . . .

I have given orders to the Postholders to encourage as much as possible the raising of annatto dye among the Indians[1].

. . . . .

We have had an occurrence here which occasioned me the utmost embarrassment and caused very great commotion in the Colony. One Edward Simons, from the island of Nevis, came to Demerara in a barque from St Eustatius, bringing with him 72 slaves and intending to settle there, wherefore he was allotted lands near the

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[1] "Rocou, Arnotto, or Terra Orellana, prepared from the red pulp or pellicle which covers the seeds of a shrub called by Linnæus *Bixa Orellana*." Schomburgk in his edition of Raleigh's *Discoverie of Guiana* (Hakl. Soc. vol. iii.) p. 113.

The Company's trade in this commodity is mentioned as early as *1646*; on *January 18th* of that year, "We, the...Directors of the Zeeland Chamber...do hereby declare that we have made a contract with...Abraham van Pere, merchant at Flushing, for the transportation of the annatto dye which the Company has...at the Fort Kijkoveral...." (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* i. 131.)

plantation, purchased by him, formerly belonging to the late Andries Tholson. A few weeks later a barque arrived here from St Christopher having on board Mr Thomas Ogilvie, provided with the necessary powers and with credentials from the Lieutenant-General and government of the English Windward Isles, from which it appeared that the said Edward Simons had mortgaged his plantation and slaves on the island of Nevis to a certain Mills, an inhabitant of St Christopher, for a large amount; that when an attempt had been made to obtain payment from him, he had resisted by force of arms and, still armed, had left the island with his slaves, and other matters contained in the Lieutenant-General's letter, copy of which herewith[1].

On the receipt of these letters I convoked both Courts and submitted the matter to them, whereupon it was unanimously resolved to condemn Edward Simons to pay the monies for which his plantation and slaves had been mortgaged and to have as many of his slaves sold as would pay the amount of the said mortgage (rejecting however other debts); I was further authorized to put this resolution into immediate execution and (since we had but recently heard that all his slaves were armed with muskets and pistols) to use such means in case of resistance as I might under the circumstances deem necessary. This resolution having been passed I had Edward Simons confined in the house of Lieutenant-Captain Mennes and acquainted him with its tenour; seeing that he could not back out of the matter he agreed to hand over a certain number of slaves to Mr Ogilvie, and the latter being satisfied, orders were sent to the plantation for such slaves to be given up. A few days later tidings arrived from Demerara that not only had the slaves not been given up but that all of them, well

[1] The "copy" (P.R.O. 469/67) of this letter, dated from St Christopher, *Jan. 22, 1753*, and signed by Gilbert Fleming, is really a translation, in Storm's own hand.

armed, were resolved to resist and to shoot down whoever set foot upon the plantation.

YY. HH. can easily imagine that these tidings gave me a turn, for I saw to what terrible results a bad example might lead and also the danger to the neighbouring plantations, such desperadoes being capable of anything. Wherefore, having deliberated with Messrs Spoors, van Doorn and Persik, who happened to be here, I summoned the company of the aforesaid burgher-captain Persik to assemble here at the Fort, armed, three days after date, and to occupy the same, and had the militia, to the number of thirty-two men (all that there are) provided with everything necessary to proceed, under my personal command, the following day to Demerara, there to bring those men to obedience by force of arms. And fearing that the said Simons might by chance be rescued from Mr Mennes' house at night, when, at the head of his own slaves, he might cause much trouble (as he had done in the island of Nevis) I had him placed in safe keeping in the Fort.

Seeing all these preparations and realizing that the matter was getting serious he wrote another letter to his plantation, which I, having read, despatched. The burghers assembled at the appointed time, but on the same day I received tidings that Simons' people had resolved to obey and had laid down their arms. The number of slaves agreed upon, too, with Mr Ogilvie were handed over to him, so that everything ended satisfactorily to my great joy. There had been much fear at the various plantations in Demerara, and as long as it lasted the matter had caused me great uneasiness.

From this occurrence it may be seen how necessary it is that a reasonable number of soldiers should be kept here, and especially now that Demerara bids fair to be so populated. Should such an occurrence or a slave riot take place at two plantations simultaneously I should be at my

wits' end. Here we were dealing with over seventy slaves, of which five- or six-and-twenty were fairly desperate men; against these I could not have sent less than the whole garrison and even that would have had its work cut out and perhaps have come back half in number.

. . . . .

It pleased the Almighty to take out of this world into His Eternal Kingdom, on the last day of last year, after a very long illness, my son Warnard Jacob[1], formerly Assistant in Your Honours' service, a loss that for many reasons has fallen very heavily upon me.

. . . . .

The inhabitants of Demerara, who were here in large numbers last week, have placed two matters before me with a request that I should submit them to the Court of Justice at its next meeting.

Firstly, that they were compelled to live like heathens, without divine worship, in that Colony, which was very hard for them and that they begged, since by far the greater number consisted of English or of those understanding the English language, that the precentor of Saba who was shortly expected there[2] might be permitted to perform divine service on Sundays in the house of the Commander by reading a sermon, singing psalms, etc. This most laudable request I immediately granted, not doubting that YY. HH. will give the same Your Honours' approbation.

On which occasion they asked me whether YY. HH. might consent to the appointment of an English preacher[3], to which I replied that I would write about it but that I had no doubt YY. HH. would certainly consent thereto, upon two conditions (which they thought reasonable)—firstly, that it should be done at their own cost without

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[1] See pp. 32 and 280.

[2] Probably on a short visit; cf. next paragraph.

[3] The application for such appointment was renewed in *1760* (see p. 379).

the Company being called upon to contribute aught; secondly, that they would not, on that account, seek to escape payment of the usual tax imposed for the remuneration of the Dutch preacher.

. . . . . .

P.S.—A rumour is current here that Emissaries from Sweden have arrived in Surinam in order to make inquiry respecting the River Barima lying between Orinoco and this river, in order to bring over a colony there[1]. I cannot well credit this; but many particulars cause me doubt, wherefore I urgently request that I may be honoured with Your Honours' orders how I am to conduct myself in this case.

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P.R.O. 469/97

June 25, 1753.

(Extracts)

I found everything in Demerara going on very well. Applicants for land are arriving daily with their slaves, various materials for mills have already been landed, more are expected, and there is every appearance of rapid progress. It is a pleasure to see how cheerful, zealous and industrious the new-comers are. In addition to sugar plantations, several will be laid out with coffee, and the arrivals from Carolina will devote themselves to the cultivation of rice. On Mr La Villette's plantation I have seen rice standing neglected and have no doubt that it will be a great success and yield good profits to the planters. The English already resident there tell me they have no doubt that before the end of five years there will be from eight to ten thousand slaves in Demerara.

The beginning is difficult, especially for those coming from the islands and who must find it rather strange to

[1] See p. 307; cf. also Rev. G. Edmundson (The Swedish Legend in Guiana) in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1899, 1900.

live so simply in a wild forest, but to my great surprise they are cheerful and content, realizing the axiom,

"Who with great love some aim pursue
Think light of all the work they do[1]."

This gives me incessant occupation, especially in the absence of Mr Spoors, since I must constantly reply to all questions and impart the necessary instructions; strangers are moreover continually calling at my house and I have to see that in Demerara all is kept in proper order, that all disputes and complaints receive attention, these things causing me many a sleepless night. But I do it all with pleasure and shall consider myself well repaid if I can reap some honour thereby and give satisfaction to my masters, whose true interests I have continually in view.

. . . . .

Turning now to this Colony I find only sad news to impart. Matters cannot be worse than they are at present; there is a total failure in the sugar and bread crops; on Your Honours' plantations the cane, nine months old, is not an inch higher than it was when three months old, and full of worms at that. Gardens which were estimated to produce 25 hogsheads have not yielded more than five; most of the bread has the rot, the director of "De Pelgrim" having none for his own table. The bread plantation cannot furnish half of what is required for the rations and if no flour is offered us for sale I shall be at my wits' end what to do with the soldiers and workpeople. I beg YY. HH. to be good enough to send some rye-meal at the first opportunity and shall meanwhile try to get some flour from either Barbados or St Eustatius.

These remarks concerning Your Honours' plantations

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[1] Storm writes,

"Die lust en liefde heeft tot eenig ding,
Vind alle moeyte en arbeyd seer gering."

are also true of the whole Colony. This small vessel[1] having lain here so long can even now get only half its cargo; how "D'Essequeebsche Vriendschap" will fare I do not know. "D'Achilles," in which YY. HH. are said to be interested, will be unable to get a full cargo, and if "De Goude Spoor" arrives before August things will look

[1] "D'Elisabeth en Johanna."

The following letter was addressed by Gedney Clarke to the Directors of the Zeeland Chamber at Storm's incentive. (See p. 286.) It is reproduced here in its chronological place as an interesting corollary to the above despatch of Storm's.

P.R.O. 469/104

Barbados, *July 10, 1753.*

Honoured Sirs,

I received the favour of your Letter, which you did me the Honour to write me the 28th of last December; For which, I acknowledge myself greatly indebted.

I am well satisfyed with the declaration you have made in regard to the Mine supposed to be in my Plantation, called New Walcheren; But as the Company have been already at great Expence and labour in searching for a Vein, without Success; I shall not begin to work therein untill I have put my owne and Children's plantations in Demorary into Order; so that they may produce something sufficient to bear the Expence of such an Undertaking:

Many People indeed think it in vain for me to attempt it, after the Unsuccessful Search made by you: I confess that Argument is greatly against my proceedings, But when I have Strength enough to spare I will nevertheless Try my Luck:

I shall be glad to know if the Company ever did receive any Ore out of that mine which upon being run downe left any small Proportion of Silver?

As your Honours give me liberty and Incouragement to write to you upon the State of your Colony of Isequebe I shall do so with the utmost freedome; And therefore my first Outset shall be in saying That you are happy in having two Rivers, viz.: Isequebe and Demorary, that Vessels of tolerable Burthen may load there; indeed large ones may load in Demorary; In each of them They may lay years without the least prejudice from worms; which they cannot do in Surinam or in any o our English or French Settlements; nay even in Holland or any part of Europe.

The land in Isequebe is not bad; Towards the mouth of the River it is exceeding good; New Walcheren is as bad a tract as any in the River; It will not produce above one Crop of Cane; So that what

bad; in a word, Noble and Right Honble. Sirs, neither I, nor any of the planters, have ever seen the crops here in such a wretched condition.

. . . . . .

This letter having been got ready so far "D'Achilles" arrives and her coming, as well as a promise of a further batch of sugar, has induced the owners of "D'Elisabeth en Johanna" to keep that vessel here about ten days longer, so that I have still time briefly to answer Your Honours' esteemed letter of the 19th of April. Having seen from the latter the various charter-parties signed by YY. HH. in "D'Achilles," "De Goude Spoor" and "De Vliegende Faem" (the latter in all probability still to arrive here in the course of the present year) I cannot refrain from intimating to YY. HH. my utmost surprise thereat and the impossibility of executing them. In nearly every letter which I had the honour of writing YY. HH. last year I took the liberty of demonstrating that the charter-parties signed at that time were too large and followed too quickly upon each other, that the great efforts made by the managers to execute them led me to fear ill effects for the following year and would occasion a dearth of cane. It is true that the managers having done all they could planted further cane in sufficient quantity, but it is too young to be crushed this year, and in addition to this came the sad visitation of continuous rains in the past and commencement of this year, occasioning a total and hitherto unusual

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I have made there has been by dint of Industry; I have therefore removed most of my Negroes from thence to Demorary where I shall plant as many Canes as I can. Upon New Walcheren I shall endeavour to raise Cotton and many Cattle, I hope.

It is a pity there are not more Inhabitants in those Rivers; If proper Incouragement was given in the Settlement of Demorary I am well assured it would be soon peopled; Poor People cannot go there without running the risque of starving; and People of Fortune do not choose to lay their money out in Purchases that cannot be Advantagious.

Suppose therefore that for the Incouragement of poor People, a

failure in the crop; matters cannot therefore be worse than they are in this Colony at present, for the cane is not yet ripe and yields nothing when it is.

The "Duynenburg" plantation has no cane fit to crush until September and the works on "De Pelgrim" have collapsed and will take some months to be set up again; YY. HH. can therefore imagine how difficult it is for us to complete the charter-party of "D'Achilles" alone. YY. HH. will kindly remember that I have always had the honour to inform YY. HH., both in my despatches and verbally, that with the number of slaves on Your Honours' plantations (which number has gradually diminished since that time) no greater average for each could be estimated than two hundred hogsheads annually, that is, 600 altogether, which is as much and more than any private plantation with a proportionate number of slaves can or does yield. If YY. HH. will kindly total up the sugar laden this year in "D'Essequeebsche Welvaeren" and the charter-parties signed it will be found greatly to exceed the aforesaid six hundred, and this occurring just in this unfortunate year YY. HH. will easily understand the utter impossibility of completing the said charter-parties. I have no doubt that Mr Secretary Spoors will already, before the receipt hereof, have had the honour of reporting verbally to YY. HH. hereupon.

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certain quantity of provisions be allowed by the Company for the two first years of their settlement and that each man be credited also with a negroe slave; For which they should pay for at certain times; suppose one part in six, one other part in seven and the other part in eight years; Those that are Industrious will get into Credit so as to purchase within that time several Negroes besides; and so will increase from time to time*.

The restraint that the Inhabitants lay under of sending their sugar to Middleburgh is certainly very discouraging and of far greater Consequence than it may be thought to be; It selling so low there

* A similar suggestion was made by Storm in his Report of *1750*. (*Vide* p. 260.)

Meanwhile I beg to assure YY. HH. that the managers and I will put forth our utmost endeavours and do all that lies in our power.

In future a list of the weight of the sugar shall always accompany the consignment, according to Your Honours' orders.

That since my return I have not mentioned in my despatches the quantity of sugar in readiness has been firstly, because I imagined such had been done by Mr Spoors; secondly, because I thought such could clearly be seen from the inventories annually sent, wherein the age of the cane and the estimated number of hogsheads each plantation would yield is always specified, so that knowing only that the cane must be 15 months old to be ripe (to which should be added the time required for crushing) one may always calculate exactly the quantity of sugar which (unforeseen occurrences excepted) will be in readiness each month of the year. I shall however take care always to keep YY. HH. informed in future, but this year the cane is in such a condition that it is impossible to make any safe estimates and I do not for a moment believe that it will be possible to deliver the usual quantity of 600 hogsheads this year, unless the yield far exceeds my expectations, though for the time of year things look very favourable.

. . . . .

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and the freight and other Charges being so high that it has not for many years past cleared the Proprietor near as much as the Expence of making it.

It must therefore be thought madness in pursuing a practice so much to their prejudice; But says the merchant in Middelburgh "They must and shall do so."

I do therefore, with the greatest Submission, say, That if your Honours would indulge the Inhabitants of Isequebe and Demorary with a free Exportation of their Sugar, or with liberty of selling it to Foreigners, that would pay their Cash for it, as well as the Company's duty, either in specie or Cash; That the same Indulgence would be

The dearth of slaves being very great, especially in Demerara, the planters there have resolved earnestly to petition YY. HH. to be good enough to further their interests in this matter, wherefore I take the liberty of sending YY. HH. herewith their petition setting out the conditions they propose, according to their means, and upon which conditions they hope YY. HH., either directly or through other merchants in Middelburg, will send them a cargo of slaves as soon as possible. They are of opinion that they can apply nowhere better than to YY. HH. direct, relying upon Your Honours' patronage and care. The list of signatories from Barbados[1] has not yet arrived, but is expected daily, as also that from St Eustatius.

*The slave-trade and its attendant smuggling, to which frequent allusion is found in the despatches, was a sore and knotty point that had fatal results. The Directors*

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of Infinite service to the Colony; and in course would be so to the Company.

There is a duty in this Island of Barbados to his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, upon all the dead produce, which I have the Honour to Collect; I receive it here and remit it, as I receive it, to London; And Liberty is granted the Inhabitants to export the said Produce to any part of the King's Dominions; If they were obliged to send the whole to any one port, the Island would soon be depopulated.

In Consequence of the liberty given me by your Honours, I have taken the freedome to mention this heavy greivance which I had before done to Mr Gravesand & Spoors, But I never could obtain any satisfactory Accompt in regard to this Affair from either of them.

You will pardon me, I am sure, in giving you so much trouble, as I have done it with a good Intent.

If I can be in any Shape serviceable to the Colony I shall be glad of an Opportunity and with great pleasure receive your Commands as I am, with the greatest Respect

Yr. Honours

Most Obedient Hble Servant

GEDNEY CLARKE.

[1] This must refer to planters there having also estates in Demerara.

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*forbade the importation into the Colony of any slaves other than those sent by themselves or by those merchants to whom they granted concessions. On the one hand, such legitimate importations were insufficient for the planters' needs, for which reason the slaves fetched exorbitant prices at auction, whilst the bills of exchange given in payment were returned unpaid and protested, thereby damaging the credit both of the planters and of the Colony.*

*On the other hand, the price demanded by the English was incomparably cheaper, but had to be paid in cash when once the return of some bills (worthless, because in payment of an illegal bargain) had made the slave-merchants cautious*[1].

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P.R O. 469/100

July 12, 1753.

(Extracts)

My last to YY. HH. was by the vessel "D'Elisabeth en Johanna," skipper R. Robberts, which departed hence on the 25th of last month with barely two-thirds of her cargo. This vessel, "D'Essequeebsche Welvaeren," will not do much better, for she cannot get anything like her cargo, whereby YY. HH. may fairly judge of the bad condition of the sugar crop, which cannot be worse. With bread it is the same, which places these colonies in a sad state, since no flour is being brought by the English and the little that does come runs to an exorbitant price by reason of the universal dearth. At the last sale I bought nine barrels and had to pay five-pence per pound for it although that was still cheaper than in Berbice, where it has gone up as

[1] See pp. 213, 594, 631, 636, 639, 640, 642, 644 and 653.

"Since the Company was not sufficiently active in the importation of negro slaves from Africa, the private planters endeavoured to make up the supply by smuggling them in on an extensive scale from the neighbouring English colonies." Netscher, *Op. cit.* p. 128.

high as seven-pence. Wherefore I once more repeat my request that a few barrels of rye-meal be sent us.

. . . . .

In Demerara lands have now been allotted for one hundred and ten plantations and very many applicants are expected in October, when the hurricane season is over, so that it is very evident that river will soon be full, and up to now everything is going on very well there.

At the last meeting of the Court of Justice burgher-officers were appointed there.

. . . . .

I take the liberty of humbly requesting YY. HH. to be good enough to send five or six dozen common chairs for the church here, since the congregation is so large that it is impossible for me to provide it with chairs, and on church-days I am always without a single chair in the house, which is very inconvenient and costly for me. A doctor of medicine from Surinam has informed me that two deputies of the Jews are on the way hither to beg that some of that persuasion may be allowed to establish themselves here. If this be so I shall put them above the first fall in Essequibo, where they will have very fine fertile land and be separated from the other planters, but since they are suspected of many evil dealings in Surinam it is my intention, before admitting them, to impose upon them some necessary conditions and restrictions[1].

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P.R.O. 469/109

October 20, 1753.

(Extracts)

The Colony has never been in so sad a state through want of bread, this being general. The bread plantation, having again furnished one ration, had to leave off, not

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[1] See Note 2, p. 211.

being able to continue the supply. It is sad to see the state of the poor slaves who are now obliged to suffer want when they were accustomed to come to the Fort and exchange bananas, yams, peas &c. with the soldiers for meat, whereby both they and the soldiers were gainers. Through want of bread they are now obliged to keep these things for themselves, making a poor shift with them, whilst the soldiers likewise have to get along on their rations only, which is very hard for them, especially so since on this last occasion I was compelled to give them a half ration of bad salt cod, there being naught else in the warehouse but a remnant of barley and some salt. I am placed in the greatest difficulty by the long-delayed arrival of "De Goude Spoor" and have not the least idea what I shall do if no barque arrives with provisions before the next ration day.

. . . . . .

J. L. Marcand, Poiret, and Watje, three of our colonists, having gone up the Essequibo with intention to try to establish some trade with the Portuguese along the Amazon, have been killed in a murderous way by the tribe named Mapissanoe[1], without having given the slightest cause

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[1] From a later despatch of Storm's (see p. 617) we learn that these can be no other than the Wapisanas. The appellation of this tribe, is, like that of the Paravilhanas, a territorial one. Humboldt (*Op. cit.* ii. p. 697) alludes to the Uaupes who dwelt along the banks of the Uaupes, a tributary of the R. Negro, in the middle of the 16th century; *ana* is an Indian suffix denoting "men of" or "springing from." The transliteration of the initial sound (the Indian *m*, *mu* or *mw*) may easily vary.

The above is the first occasion Storm has to mention them; in *1765* (see p. 486) we hear of them waging war with the Macusis up the Rupununi and not till *1769* (see p. 617) does Storm come into actual touch with them through his emissary, Jansse, who found the tribe living near the Crystal Mine on both sides of the Mahu. Jansse's attempts to obtain ore or other commodities from or through them were only partially successful and Storm promised to send him up again (see p. 620) but nothing further seems to have been done.

Jozé Monteiro de Noronha, writing in *1770* or *1771*, speaks of some

therefor. This is not the first occasion that these have so acted, becoming daily more bold through impunity, daring to say openly that they will act thus to all the whites who fall into their hands, because they are not men, and take no revenge.

As it is necessary to take measures hereupon, I have instructed Moshack, the Postholder, carefully to inform himself of their villages, number, and strength; to ascertain the way, and everything exactly, and to make me a circumstantial report thereof, as then I intend (with Your Honours' approbation) to attack them with the assistance of the Caribs, who have come and offered their services for this purpose, and to drive them away inland far from the River Essequibo, so that we may have the passage free. This will take place much the more easily because they have also murdered some Caribs and Macusis[1], who are their nearest neighbours, and who accompanied the traders

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of the Uapisana tribe dwelling on the Parima river (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* i. p. 89), but Ribeiro de Sampaio (*ib.* p. 115) gives the R. Uaupes, another tributary of the Negro, as their chief habitat. Schomburgk, however, in *1835*, found them again in large numbers up the Rupununi and inhabiting the Canaku Mountains (*J.R.G.S.* vol. xvi. pp. 243, 248–250).

McTurk, who is probably the best authority of all, says (*Braz. Arb. Brit. Ann.* ii. pt. 3, p. 2) that they lived originally on the west of the Tacutu, but migrated thence across the river to get away from the Brazilians.

[1] Of this tribe Storm knew admittedly but little, for with the exception of this casual mention of them "up the Essequibo" in *1753* and again "up the Rupununi" in *1765* (see p. 486)—on which occasion they were again at war with the Wapisanas—he can give no good account of them until *1769*, when his postholder, Jansse, went as far as the Crystal Mine and the Mahu (see pp. 79 and 617).

Humboldt (*Op. cit.* ii. p. 684; also in his preface to Richard Schomburgk's *Reisen*, p. 35) reports them as dwelling between the Rupununi, the Mahu and the Pacaraima chain; Richard Schomburgk (*Reisen in Britisch Guiana*, ii. pp. 311 *et seq.*) gives a very full account of the tribe, whilst his brother Robert (*J.R.G.S.* vi. p. 275) speaks of the district about the Parima Mountains "generally called the Macoosie country."

aforesaid. I take the liberty of requesting YY. HH. to be pleased to honour me as soon as possible with Your Honours' orders relative to this.

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P.R.O. 469/110

February 19, 1754.

(Extract)

In reply to Your Honours' letter of the 23rd July of last year, I have the honour to report, first, concerning the trade with Orinoco that I shall do all that lies in my power to further the same as much as possible, and that I have only to-day received a letter from that place with the news that a new Governor has arrived in Cumaná, who assures me that he will do all that lies in his power to maintain friendly relations, advising me also that in conformity with the agreement come to some years ago between the former Governor and myself, he had ordered three negroes who had run away from this Colony to be apprehended and publicly sold. Among them was one belonging to the Honourable Company's plantation "Aegtekerke," who had fetched 150 pesos, or 300 guilders; this (after deducting the expenses) amounting to about 250 guilders net, which sum he would certainly not be worth here, being one of the greatest rascals that we had. I was requested to send some one to fetch the money, as well as the proceeds of the two others belonging to colonists, amounting to a total of 400 guilders, without deduction of the expenses, which is much better than losing the slaves altogether, as used to be the case before. This, too, will be some intimidation when the slaves know that they are not free there, but, on the contrary, have to work much harder than here.

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P.R.O. 469/127

September 2, 1754.

(Extract)

For some weeks past a rumour has been spread here that a Major-General with three or four engineers and some troops were expected every day in Orinoco. Having inquired into this, I was told and also written to from Orinoco that it was true, and that the object was to measure and examine the mouth of the Orinoco to see if it were not possible for a register-ship to come there every year to bring the pay of the garrison, &c., so that it might no longer have to be fetched so far overland.

To me that appeared very apocryphal, because for that a naval officer and some sailors would be more suitable than a Major-General and engineers, and I surmised that there must be something more behind this. The inclosed letter from Mr Clarke lays the secret bare, and my surmises turn out to be not unfounded.

According to the reports of the Indians, there are between Orinoco and here two or three very rich silver mines, by no means at or near the River Orinoco, but far south of it on our side, and even, in my opinion, south of the Waini, and in the chain of mountains commonly called the Blaauwenberg, which forms a whole long line of mountain chain, which YY. HH. will find laid down on the little map handed over by me when in Zeeland. This being so (and I fear it is only quite too certain) how will this turn out? or what shall I do? With the small number of soldiers I cannot turn the least aggression in this region. It is even impossible for me (however necessary at this conjuncture) to detach eight or ten men to garrison and defend as far as possible the Post of Moruca, which will, I fear, bear the brunt. All that I can do is, with the aid of the Carib nation, whose flight from Barima is daily to be expected, to cause all possible hindrance to the under-

taking; but then I shall want ammunition and food, and I have none of either.

I have the honour to assure YY. HH. that I shall not slumber in this matter, but shall do everything in my power, and meanwhile anxiously await Your Honours' orders respecting the so long sought definition of frontier so that I may go to work with certainty. (Has not this been regulated by the Treaty of Münster?)[1]

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[1] The Directors, in their reply dated *6 January, 1755*, though discrediting the idea that the Spaniards intended invading the Colony "fully approve the arrangements determined upon by" Storm and conclude as follows:—

"We would we were able to give you an exact and precise definition of the real limits of the river of Essequibo, such as you have several times asked of us; but we greatly doubt whether any precise and accurate definition can anywhere be found, save and except the general limits of the Company's territories stated in the preambles of the respective Charters granted to the West India Company at various times by the States-General, and except the description thereof which is found in the respective Memorials drawn up, printed, and published when the well-known differences arose concerning the exclusive navigation of the inhabitants of Zeeland to those parts, wherein it is defined as follows: 'That region lying between those two well-known great rivers, namely, on the one side, that far-stretching and wide-spreading river, the Amazon, and on the other side, the great and mightily-flowing river, the Orinoco, occupying an intermediate space of ten degrees of north latitude from the Equator, together with the islands adjacent thereto.' For neither in the Treaty of Münster (concerning which you gave us your own opinions), nor in any other is there to our knowledge anything to be found about this; the only thing we have discovered up to this time by our search is a definite boundary-line made in the West Indies between New Netherland and New England in the year *1650*, but nothing more or further.

"For which aforesaid reasons it is therefore our opinion that one ought to proceed with all circumspection in defining the Company's territory, and in disputing about its jurisdiction, in case this may have led to the aforesaid preparations of the Spaniards, and that it would be best in all befitting and amicable ways to guard against all estrangements and hostile acts arising therefrom.

"Still, without retracting aught from what we have urged with relation to the aforesaid enterprises of the Spaniards, we have nevertheless thought it our duty in the present case, and in our uncertainty whether it might not have some serious consequences for the Colony

There are also Swedish Emissaries (as I understand) arrived at Surinam to examine Barima, so that this old matter begins to revive again, but I am not so much disturbed about this as about the former matter....[1]

I have just this moment received information that the Spaniards (apparently in order to facilitate their undertaking) have established two Missions up in Cuyuni, and garrisoned them with men.

YY. HH. will certainly recollect that I had the honour some years ago[2] to inform YY. HH. that they had located a Mission in the Creek Mejou[3], which flows into the Cuyuni, whereupon YY. HH. did me the honour to command that I must try to hinder it, but without appearing therein. I did not agree in the reasons which actuated YY. HH. to command this secretly, because this Mission was so absolutely and indisputably on our territory; yet when I was honoured with your command I had already done myself the honour of writing to the Governor of Cumaná to make my complaint, with a request that he would cause the Mission to be moved away from thence, adding also that I should otherwise be compelled, however unwillingly, to use means which would certainly be disagreeable to

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(which Heaven forfend), to make certain needed provisions so far as was in our power and as time allowed. We have consequently resolved to send by the ship 'De Goude Spoor,' now lying ready to sail, some men and a goodly quantity of gunpowder; likewise some additional victuals, such as we thought might be most needed—a list of which is here inclosed; and we hope that all these things may prove to have been sent from a prudent and excessive caution rather than because of a well-founded fear of imminent or pressing disaster."

[1] See p. 293. [2] See pp. 220, 224, 228 and 248.

[3] In his little map (reproduced in the Atlas accompanying the British Case in the Venezuela Arbitration) Storm shows a "Meejou" as the main tributary of the Cuyuni—i.e. as if it were the Yuruari. But his hearsay geography was inaccurate. The river he referred to was evidently the Meyamo or Miamo—and this is almost conclusively proved from the Spanish record of a mission being about that time established on that river and not elsewhere. See also Note on p. 90.

them. This had the desired effect, because I received a very polite reply, and the Mission was not only actually moved back, but even one of their ecclesiastics was sent here with the assurance that this had been done unwittingly. Having attained my object, I accepted this as sterling coin.

But the present is quite another affair. These two Missions are not in the Creek Mejou, but some miles lower on the River Cuyuni itself[1]. This, taken in conjunction with the other reports, makes the matter very serious, and a very weighty one; and I shall with much impatience await Your Honours' orders.

I am yet thinking of proceeding this week up [the river], the 8th of this month being the inauguration of the new church at Ampa, and I am going on the 7th with Mr Spoors to Your Honours' provision plantation to dismiss Feytler, the Manager, and install in his place the foreman Cantineaux; from thence I shall send to Cuyuni to cause ocular inspection to be made.

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[Inclosure]

Barbados, August 8, 1754.

Although I have not been favoured with a line from you for some time past, I have, notwithstanding, constantly inquired after your welfare. I cannot omit this opportunity to inform you that the master of a vessel who arrived this day from Trinitada assures me that a large number of small vessels, with 500 men, were arrived there from Cumaná. They are bound up the river of Orinoco, the branch that trends away to the south-east, at the head of which there are mines, and which they are going to take possession of. I therefore think it is incumbent upon me to give you this notice, as they may, perhaps, enter upon land within your district. If I hear anything further I shall communicate the same to you at once.

Your Excellency's most obedient Servant,

GEDNEY CLARKE.

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[1] See, however, Note on p. 90.

P.R.O. 469/129

September 11, 1754.

(Extract)

The Court having met and Mr Persik having appeared, he handed over his letters (under promise of secrecy as to the writer's name). Having seen from these that according to all human reckoning we are threatened with an invasion, we framed every measure of defence possible to us. We have ordered the Captains to make lists without delay of their men and ammunition, to warn the Caribs and other Indians at the earliest opportunity, to make ready as soon as possible ships to serve as outlying posts, and to send a messenger to Orinoco with a letter from me to the Commandant there, of which a copy herewith. To-day I also write to all the Postholders to use the necessary precautions.

The same evening I was present at a meeting of the Commander and burgher-officers of Demerara, at which it was resolved to furnish at once the necessary slaves for the construction as speedily as possible of a ravelin or crescent of heavy mora palisades with a lodge in which, besides the small garrison, others might in case of emergency take turns at being on guard; it was further resolved to post a sentinel at the eastern point of the said river. I am engaged in having every possible preparation made at the Fort and will have the necessary stores placed therein this week. But whence am I to get ammunition, especially powder? What can I do with the 700 lbs. received? I shall do everything in my power and shall endeavour so to acquit myself of my oath and duty that I may retain a clear conscience before Omniscient God and man—of that YY. HH. may be certain—leaving the issue to the Most High for Whose aid and blessing we pray.

Lieutenant-Captain A. A. Mennes died on the 6th inst.

and was buried on the 10th[1], on which day I appointed the surveyor Laurens Lodewyk van Bercheyck[2], provisionally and subject to Your Honours' approval, Commandant of the Militia at 16 guilders a month. I hope and flatter myself that he will discharge his duty as an honest man, and I take the liberty of humbly begging YY. HH. to be good enough to grant me the favour of making that provisional appointment a definite one.

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*Although the fears of the Spanish invasion foreshadowed in the few foregoing despatches turned out to be groundless it will be interesting to trace in the following ones the vigorous measures taken by Storm—never so much the Governor as when doing soldier's work—in face of the impending danger.*

P.R.O. 469/155

October 12, 1754.

(Extracts)

I had the honour to write to YY. HH., viâ Berbice, per Captain I. I. Boon, and to give YY. HH. information of the advices which I had received from Barbados from Mr G. Clarke, concerning the movements of the Spaniards in this neighbourhood. I had, however (although placing little

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[1] It was eight years later, in a despatch dated *Nov. 6, 1762*, that Storm wrote as follows:—

"At the funeral of Commandant Mennes I heard Mr Boter, in everyone's hearing, lay upon me the whole blame for the outrages committed by the Spanish pirate in that I had given permission for the Spanish trade, which had never been heard of in Commander Gelskerke's time, and adding many other injurious expressions. To all this I answered not a word, considering the time and place, in a house full of grief and before an inconsolable widow and two children of tender age, and knowing, too, myself; as long as I keep silent I am perfect master of my temper, but when I begin to speak I lose control entirely, wherefore I have as far as possible to avoid speaking on such occasions."

See p. 335.

confidence in their pretences), no thought at the time that they would have fixed their aim directly on these Colonies, but shortly thereafter the advices from St Eustatius, and even from Orinoco direct, informing us that in reality the intention would be to venture an attack upon these and neighbouring Colonies, I had the honour to give information thereof to YY. HH. (per Captain Errauds, fourteen days after Captain Boon left Berbice).

Since then I have been unceasingly occupied in making every preparation for a proper defence. I have had the lock and pier of the Fort moat seen to, so that the latter may be kept full of water, the drawbridge and gateway of the crown-work renovated, new gun-carriages made, cartridges and langrel bags[1] got ready, all the muskets repaired, victuals and all necessary stores brought into the Fort. I have also had all the bush round the latter cut down and cleared, so as to render it inaccessible, nothing now remaining open except the river and the road to "Duynenburg," in which directions most and the best of the cannon have been trailed, and should at low tide some land be left dry along the Fort *chevaux de frise*[2] will be placed there. I have also sent orders to Moruca to cause all inland waters and passages to be closed, so that they may not be able to pass with small vessels (and, according to information they have, as yet, no great vessels fit for outside, to come by sea).

All the Caribs have also been warned to keep themselves ready and armed, but I find this warning was in no instance necessary, since I have learned from one of their Headmen, who came to me last week, that the nation is

[1] Langrel or langrage, a particular kind of shot formed of bolts, nails, bars or other pieces of iron tied together. Falconer, *Dict. Marine, 1780.*

[2] Storm writes *Vriesche Paerden.* This means of defence was first used by the Frisians in their struggle for freedom during the latter half of the 17th century.

furious with the Spaniards because they have located a Mission in Cuyuni between them and the tribe of the Panacays[1], and hereby try to hinder their communication with that tribe, and entirely to prevent their whole slave trade on that side; already, too, they have impressed and taken away some.

Wherefore they have made an alliance with the Panacays aforesaid, who were as malcontent as themselves, and both together surprised that Mission, massacred the priest and ten or twelve Spaniards, and demolished the buildings; after which they sent knotted cords to all persons of their nation (as is their custom), as a general summons to deliberate together on what further remains for them to do....

This sad accident for the Spaniards has covered us on that side, so that we have nothing to fear from that direction.

. . . . .

I have had lists drawn up of the burghers both here and in Demerara, and of the guns and ammunition as well as of the men. I find S. Persik's company has 64 men, exclusive of officers, that of S. G. van der Heyde 70 and that in Demerara 67; but they are wretchedly provided with guns and powder. The burghers complain that several of them have repeatedly written to their agents for powder, but have received none, and that this is the reason they are without any, in contravention of the regulations. This places us in great difficulties in the present circumstances, for in the two Colonies there is scarcely a pound of powder per head for the whites and

[1] Although every other tribe mentioned by Storm can be identified (even though sometimes but hypothetically) with that mentioned by some classical author the Panacays have not been amenable to identification; had they really no other name, then their whole recorded history will be comprised in this attack made by them upon the Spanish intruders and in the offer made by the chiefs in person in the following year to aid Storm against similar encroachments (see pp. 330 and 332).

nothing for the cannon that has to give the alarm signal. Everyone comes to the Fort asking for powder and I am obliged to refuse them, since I cannot spare an ounce of the little I have. I shall try to get some from Barbados so that I may furnish everyone with it and have some more for the Fort.

I hope my messenger to Orinoco will return before the departure of this vessel so that I may be able to communicate to YY. HH. the answer I get.

At the end hereof I shall likewise have the honour to inform YY. HH. of the resolutions made by the burghers here and in Demerara, who have not yet come to any final decision.

The negroes of Your Honours' plantation "Pelgrim," when the manager told them to keep good watch, so that at the first alarm they might retire above the creek, replied that in such a case they request the manager to be good enough to retire with their wives and children, but that they were not inclined to yield a foot, that they would station themselves on the other side in the forest, and then they would see if any Spaniards would come through the creek and to the plantation.

The able-bodied men of "Duynenburg" and of this station are to retire into the Fort in order to serve near the artillery. Their wives and children are to go above to Bonasieke, where a proper refuge has been made ready, and where the wives and children of the whites are also to betake themselves.

With regard to those of "Agterkerke," whom I do not entirely trust, I have given orders to the manager to retire, on the first signal of alarm, with all his slaves up to the place where "Poelwijk" used to be.

And the few creoles of YY. HH. will, in case we are attacked, go up the Cuyuni with some of the whites and mulattoes appointed for that purpose in order to place

themselves at the head of the Caribs and make a raid into Guayana[1].

Two small vessels are being built (whereof one is, and the other is almost, ready) to keep watch between Moruca and Pomeroon, and the Arawaks of the Post are spread along the sea-coast in corrials so as to be able to give timely warning.

I have no doubt that the burghers will arm a barque (if only we can get powder) to guard the entrance, Mr C. Leary having already promises of over forty English sailors who present themselves for service.

Already some days ago I despatched the pilot Grootendorst outside to look out. He comes back inside early every night, and goes out again early in the morning.

Thus all possible precautions having been taken, we must with patience await what may come of it, although to us this matter appears inconceivable, and we cannot comprehend for what reason and on what account the Spaniards should wish to invade these colonies, to which they have not the slightest claim, especially when the news from Europe predicts nothing of the kind. As, however, our advices are so numerous, and some come from such good sources, I know not what to think, and find it my duty to use all human precaution that I may not have to employ that bad excuse, "I never thought of that."

The sole information to the contrary comes from one of Ignace Courthial's people, who has brought some tobacco to Mr Spoors, and from a mulatto of Demerara, who not long ago arrived from up the Orinoco, who brought word (which to me appears most probable) that the Portuguese of Brazil descended Rio Negro last year with the Maganouts[2], and these have taken possession of a gold mine

[1] Guayana spelt in this way always refers to the Spanish province of that name.

[2] See Note 2 on p. 85 and pp. 181–189.

close by Orinoco, and that all these preparations are being made to drive the Portuguese away from thence. I think it will not be long before we shall be out of dreamland.

While busy in writing this there comes to me a trusty Indian bringing me a letter from Orinoco with a circumstantial account concerning the intention of the Spaniards. This informs me that their intention is to attack this Colony and Berbice; that the General-in-chief will be in Orinoco on the 20th September; that in Cumaná twenty, and in Orinoco eight, vessels were being built, which must be in readiness by the last of November, the intention being to come down upon us in the end of December or beginning of January; that they were busy with all their energy to recruit and press people, and the corps was to consist of 3000 or 4000 men.

Since the matter becomes more serious as time goes on, we have to-day resolved to send a vessel to Barbados on the 30th September, and to order thence a quantity of ammunition and cartridge cases, because it is impossible without these to make proper resistance.

The burghers here have undauntedly resolved to risk their lives and property in the defence of the Colony, and have made all possible arrangements therefor[1]. Two well-armed barques are being fitted out with all possible speed, and made ready so that when the ammunition has arrived they may go to sea and cruise before the mouth of the river and as far as the River Waini. One will mount thirty pieces of cannon and twenty-four metal swivel guns, the other six pieces and twelve swivel guns, properly pro-

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[1] It is worth noting how Storm in this paragraph glosses over the trouble he has in getting the burghers to do their bare duty, as Inclosure III (pp. 321–325) testifies; this, too, furnishes valuable evidence that he does not overstate the truth when he complains at a later period of the opposition with which he has to contend.

vided with other guns and forces, for which [service] Messrs C. Leary and Persik have generously offered their barques without making any claim therefor.

A very good and fit barque of Mr Dudonjon has also been equipped to go and lie at the corner of the Pomeroon. Right Honourable Sirs, in one word, I have to assure YY. HH. that whilst imploring the merciful support and help of the Most High, everything shall be done that it is in our human power to do to frustrate hostile designs.

YY. HH. will please not take it ill that I, in these circumstances, being incessantly busy from early morning till late at night, cannot have the honour to write circumstantially about other matters, but must defer this to a later ship's opportunity.

The Court was again assembled on the 7th of this month for the second advice from Orinoco, and our Emissary, with a letter for the Commandant there, returned just one day previously. He has informed us that he had found there Señor Don Eugenio D'Alvarado, Knight of St James, and Colonel of a regiment of infantry, a Captain of a man-of-war, and three engineers, and some other gentlemen, but no foreign troops; that the eleven vessels which had brought them were daily expected back (being returned to Cumaná) with two barques to fetch the necessary goods; that the aforesaid Colonel, then commanding in Orinoco, had told him that he should very much like to know who had given such information here, that if he could catch him he would cause him to be punished, that he thought it had occurred through a Barbados barque which he had seen at Trinidad, but that, if he could have supposed that, it should never again have seen Barbados.

Moreover, the Emissary had in Orinoco conversed with one Nicholas Collaert, who fled from here some years ago, who had related to him that the Colonel aforesaid had

caused him to be brought to Orinoco, and had let him make to the best of his ability a drawing of the course of the River Cuyuni.

For the rest, a thousand assurances were given him that they had no aims on us, but that the preparations were for the navigation of the Rio Negro, and to regulate the delimitation of the frontiers between the Spaniards and Portuguese.

The reply of the Commandant Valdez to myself contains the same thing, copy of which I have the honour to send Your Honours[1].

All this, together with the proposals of the burgher-officers and my remarks thereupon, having been submitted to the Court, the latter unanimously resolved that the old regulations made in the former war should be adopted without any change, that moreover two small vessels should be stationed outside on guard and that the barques should be got ready but not be victualled until further orders, &c. And since we are so ill provided with powder a barque was despatched to Barbados to fetch some, we being in want of naught else.

Various members of the Court were of opinion that we have now nothing to fear, and that all danger is over, especially because the Contador, or Secretary, Don Felix, has written to Persik, and declared with many assurances that nothing was aimed at us, but with this addition, "unless, however, other orders might come from the Court of Spain, of which he was unaware." Others were of opinion with me that we had now not the least reason for more confidence than we had previously, because we ought to be most assured that, whatever might be their aims, they would write nothing else than they have done, and that they would not be so foolish as to reveal their intention; that

[1] See facsimile opposite p. 319.

however improbable such an undertaking might be (which it really is), and however plausible and acceptable the pretext of the delimitation appears, different circumstances appear very suspicious, and therefore our duty was to be on our guard, and to use all possible precaution, although therein moderation must be observed as far as possible, which was generally acknowledged, and a resolution framed accordingly.

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[Inclosure I.]

*To the Spanish Commandant at Santo Thomé.*

*Essequibo, September* 12, 1754[1].

Sir,

Warned by repeated advices from the Isle of Barbados of the arrival of a body of troops at Trinidad, and of their destination and departure for the Orinoco, and also of the preparations that are being made under your command at Cumaná and elsewhere, and of the design formed to make a raid into my Government, I have considered it to be my duty to send you this express with the present letter in order to express to you my surprise, and to ask you for the reason of all these preparations in our neighbourhood in a time of peace. I have endeavoured, as far as lay in my power, to keep up good relations with my neighbours, and never to violate in any manner the Treaties which exist between His Catholic Majesty and my Sovereigns the States-General and the United Provinces, and am firmly resolved not to infringe them in any particular, and to observe them religiously, as I have always done.

But I have also the honour to inform you, and I consider myself indispensably obliged to do so, that in case they are

[1] The original is in French.

OXFORD UNION
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Copye Missive van den Commandant van Orinoque

Señor

Muy S.r mio: la noticia q. V.s me participa en su carta del 12 corriente me ha dexado sumam.te confuso en considerar el desatino y siento ynformar q. le han hecho de la Isla Bacivadas pues yo no segue su Majestad Catholica pueda haver rompido los tratad.s q. tiene con los Estados Generales y provincias Unidas y asi no crea V.s semejantes novedad.s y en mi concepto son deshonrables pues los Señores Oficiales Generales y de honor q. estan aqui, tienen muy inversos y contrarios destinos, siendo sus comisiones de mucha mas elevada consequencia q. la q. a V.s. han informado porq. estos dexen seguir su marcha por el Orinoco arriva hasta el Rio Negro y el Marañon mediante el tratado se letrado entre las dos Majestad.s de España y Portugal sobre la linia divisoria, y demas disposicion.s R.s en que continueron los soberanos, todas puestas a la conducta y elevadas circonstancias de estos dos señores, por lo qual no se me ofrese otra cosa q. noticiar a V.s sobre el contenido e la citada carta

Yo quedo a la disposicion de V.s Eyntirin me dispensa sus ord.s Ruego a Dios le g.e m.s a.s

Guayana y Sept 27 = 1754

B.s m. de V.s Sum.s Seg.o Servid.r

Was getekent

Juan Valdez.

(An exact Reproduction, not reduced.)

violated by the other side I am resolved to maintain the rights of my Sovereigns with all my might. I have had all the Indians, our allies, warned and armed, and they only await my orders to march and send expresses to our neighbours and allies, and in a word, I have done all that it is my duty to do.

Therefore, Sir, by writing you this, and by asking for your definite reply, I shall not have to reproach myself in any way for the misfortunes that may happen, and my conscience will be clear of them before God and man. I assure you once more that I shall be precise in observing the Treaties. I shall be delighted to be able to cherish and keep up the old friendship and the good neighbourly relations; to this I shall contribute as much as I can; but in discharging this duty I shall not fail to take advantage of the [ ][1] I have received and to make all the necessary preparations.

I conclude this letter by assuring you that (so long as I am permitted to be) I shall be with all possible esteem and consideration, your, &c.

L. Storm van 's Gravesande[2].

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P.R.O. 469/137

[Inclosure II.]

To the Burgher-Officers of this Colony.

This is to serve as a solemn warning to take the present condition of time and affairs into consideration, to set aside all private and party interests and to keep in view the common welfare and preservation of the Colony alone.

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[1] Word missing.

[2] A copy of the reply in Storm's hand is reproduced opposite in facsimile; Storm gives the gist of it on pp. 316, 317, but was evidently chary of giving a literal translation (cf. p. 367).

You are asked to consider that it is not credible or probable that the King of Spain will (as matters now stand in Europe) care to risk a rupture or war with the United Netherlands by an isolated raid upon lands subject to Their High Mightinesses, whereby no one but a few of his individual subjects would profit and the King only lose. But having once resolved upon war he will certainly endeavour to deal the State some sensible blow and to make himself master of these and the neighbouring colonies.

This being firmly recognised as the most probable to happen everyone can easily understand how necessary concord and good harmony are and how desirable that everyone should contribute in every possible way to the preservation of the Colony, by succeeding wherein we shall, under the blessing of the Most High, not only keep our dear religion, liberty and possessions but moreover have the honour to liberate and protect our neighbours, subjects of the same Sovereigns.

There is not one of you who is not aware of the weak state of the garrison ; in times of perfect peace, as we are, and expecting anything rather than an attack, it has been impossible for Their Honours to provide the necessary reinforcements, so that the aid of some men from amongst the citizens is absolutely requisite for the defence of the Fort.

No less is the necessity of framing some measures for the protection and defence of the western entrance of this River, through which the foe would in all probability come. A list of burghers having been drawn up and the number of able-bodied men being known you are asked to consider, whether it is not expedient, firstly, to arm and man a proper vessel, commanded by a trusty, experienced and proper person, whereon, besides the necessary sailors, a number of the burghers should be kept under arms to protect the western entrance, and secondly, to make some

arrangement among the burghers so that in case of attack an officer and thirty men of the same should betake themselves to Fort Zeelandia.

The present circumstances not permitting me to absent myself from the Fort I have requested Mr Councillor Ab. van der Cruysse to preside in my name and on my behalf in your assembly.

L. Storm van 's Gravesande.

Zeelandia, Sept. 22, 1754.

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P.R.O. 469/138

[Inclosure III.]

To the Burgher-Officers.

Gentlemen,

Yesterday evening I received from the hands of the Old Councillor Mr A. van der Cruysse the representations[1] framed in your meeting of Wednesday last, in reply to which I have the honour to say before answering them *seriatim*,

That at the first glance they seemed to me fairly reasonable and that it was especially agreeable to me to see that you were unanimous in such varying sentiments, which indeed gave great hopes of good results.

But considering your propositions more closely, I must say to my sorrow that I cannot and may not approve them as expressed, and that I deplore the sad and critical position in which we are, with a hostile invasion imminent and the means of defence so far to seek and still so inadequate.

For I see, firstly, that it is your idea to have supreme mastery and not to obey the commands of those appointed

[1] Storm's reply mirrors these so fairly that it has been deemed unnecessary to reproduce them here.

by our superiors, and there being therefore no subordination, nothing but confusion is to be expected.

Secondly, that you have shut your eyes to the fact that if the Fort were captured the whole Colony would be irrevocably lost and that it would not avail in the least to have stayed at home or to be looking after one's slaves or plantation.

Finally, that it is the law in all colonies, either Dutch, French or English, that in case of attack the burghers must take up arms and proceed whithersoever their respective governors order them, and that is not only the case on the Islands, but everywhere, an example being set by the English (the freest nation of Europe) in North America.

Coming now to answer your propositions.

1. Concerning the first I will say that orders for blocking the *itaboes*[1] were already despatched about a week ago, but since it might be possible that the Postholder had neglected to do so I shall be very glad if Captain Persik will send a trustworthy person to see about it, wherefore I have ordered the Assistant of the Moruca Post to call upon the aforesaid gentleman and am sending the latter the necessary written orders for the Postholder.

2. That the galley would be of the greatest service is undeniable, and it were well that it had been in order and fully equipped, but naught is in readiness except the ordnance, no masts, cables, sails, ammunition or oars—in a word, nothing, and everything necessary having to be requisitioned, this will take so long that it is to be feared it will be quite useless, for a few months at least will elapse before it is all here.

And whence am I to get the men to serve upon it?

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[1] *Itabo.* An Indian name for a waterway connecting two rivers, or two points on the same river, generally made by the passage of boats through intervening swampy ground; the particular *itabo* here referred to is that leading to the Orinoco. Cf. pp. 468 and 663.

3. With regard to Mr Dudonjon's barque I am very pleased with the idea and in response to that gentleman's proposal made to me I have already engaged three sailors (all that I could get) to serve upon it. But your condition with regard to that barque as well as to that belonging to Mr Persik is that I shall have to provide them with sailors, victuals, ammunition and what is further requisite therefor.

You are aware what my stock of ammunition is. Of victuals there are enough to supply the Fort. You must not think that I would denude the Fort to supply those vessels—such is far from my thoughts. My life and honour depend thereupon and I am ready to sacrifice the former to the latter upon the field of battle, but in no wise to lose it in a shameful manner, which would undoubtedly be my lot if I chanced to do what you ask. And moreover, were I so mad as to give all that there is it would be insufficient by far for the desired object.

4. Is answered in the preceding paragraph.

5. Orders have already long since been given for the construction of two swift vessels, one of which is ready and the other nearly so.

6. Your resolution to sacrifice everything for your faith, your homes and all that is dear to you is very laudable and praiseworthy, and to fight to the end is also everyone's duty, though what you have propounded here is very fine in theory but very doubtful in practice. To retire to the Fort in fighting array is good, but do you not suppose that the hostile vessels will be as swift as ours? If ours retire theirs will certainly follow and reach the Fort as soon as ours, and in such a case there would be great danger of letting both pursuers and pursued into the Fort together. I submit this and matters connected therewith to your consideration.

7. This is the principal paragraph. You think yourselves not in conscience bound to come to the Fort in order

to help defend the same. I doubt whether all the burghers think this, but if it be so, I am compelled to say (and the circumstances permit of no circumlocution) that this idea surprises me greatly and appears to me absolutely unjustifiable. I will not dilate upon the duty of a good citizen and loyal subject, upon obedience to lawful authority, conscientious duty and other such matters; time is too short, and I believe that nearly all, if they search their conscience, are convinced of all this. But, gentlemen, please consider the inconsistency of your proposals. You ask me to provide sailors for the galley, the barque "De Hoop" and Mr Dudonjon's vessel, for which at least sixty or seventy would be required. You probably suppose that for this purpose I would take the sailors from the English barques lying here, with or without their consent, for it were childish to imagine that they were elsewhere to be obtained in this Colony; and then these same sailors are proposed to me for the defence of the Fort.

Supposing (what, however, is an impossibility) that I could get a hundred sailors for the Fort, do you think that I should trust that number of such men inside it and thus make them masters of it, especially when there are so many Irish, Pretender's partizans and others among them? Could I expect obedience or the least form of discipline? How should such wild, foreign and possibly unwilling men obey when the very burghers of this land, whose faith, whose homes and all dear to them are at stake have such difficulty in resolving to do so?

No, Gentlemen, be it not your pleasure, it will be mine to be buried amid the ruins of the Fort, doing my duty as an honest man to the utmost of my endeavour. Then shall I be quits with my conscience before Omniscient God, before my superiors, before the whole world.

8. Since the orders for posting sentries and taking turns at that duty are to await the equipment of the vessels

and as a good time must elapse before all things requisite therefor are ordered and sent I shall say nothing about that now. You, gentlemen, probably think there is plenty of time, but I am of quite a different opinion.

9, 10. Require no reply.

So that I still adhere to the commands already given and shall have the honour to submit your proposals and this my reply to the Court on the 7th October and take its advice thereupon. Meanwhile I remain, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Zeelandia, Sept. 28, 1754.

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P.R.O. 469/156

October 27, 1754.

(Extracts)

Since the departure of Captain T. Crey, who, on the 16th October, ran out to sea from Demerara, I have learned no particular news from Orinoco except that three barques and nine canoes have arrived there and have sailed up to the fort, and that the Surinam traders and most of the Carib Indians have retired from Barima, and have departed to the Waini.

However inconceivable the threatened undertaking against these Colonies may appear I am, nevertheless, through the coincidence of various circumstances touching it, not devoid of great uneasiness and feel compelled to take every possible precaution and to frame every reasonable measure to be ready upon emergency.

For that reason everything here is in a proper state of defence and on the 18th the last victuals and stores were carried into the Fort, there being now a stock sufficient to

last quite four months. Next week the last of the fuel will be brought in, and as soon as the barque has returned from Barbados nothing more will be wanting. The powder I expect by that vessel can, if the threatened danger blows over (which God grant), be sold to the colonists, and thus no great expense will have been incurred, economy having been regarded as far as possible in all things.

. . . . .

The barque despatched to Barbados has just returned bringing 2500 lbs. of powder, 100 cartridge-pouches for the negroes and creoles and 100 cutlasses, amounting to 1885 gldrs. 10 st.[1] so that now I feel quite safe and in a position to fulfil my duty as an honest man, though until now I had been exceedingly uneasy, as YY. HH. can well imagine.

I have received tidings thence that two vessels, well armed and fully equipped, had been despatched hither by those having property in Demerara, in order to render aid in case of need, so that there is now little to fear.

We shall still be in uneasiness here for a period of about three months. Before the end of January they must disclose everything, because, by the middle of February, the time for navigating the Orinoco River will have expired.

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P.R.O. 469/157

November 26, 1754.

(Extracts)

Thé spies sent by me, both to the Orinoco and to the Cuyuni, have not yet come back, but the Indians up in Cuyuni have only this week caused me to be assured that they will guard the passage well, and that I had nothing to fear from that side.

. . . . .

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[1] £157. 2*s*. 6*d*. in English currency; see p. 327.

Since the receipt of Your Honours' very respected [despatch] of the 25th February last, I have not seen Ignace Courthial. One of his people came here with a quantity of tobacco (which was despatched by the "Essequibo's Welvaren"), and is still here expecting him. I fear the man will have changed his mind owing to the long duration of the negotiations. As soon as he arrives, I will speak to him and try to encourage him, because I think he will be of great use to the Colony.

. . . . .

I have been obliged to draw upon YY. HH. a bill of exchange, dated November 9, for £314. 5*s.* 0*d.* Flemish, in favour of Andrew Hunter, of Barbados, in payment of the powder, cutlasses and cartridge-pouches furnished by the King's Magazine there. If, as I hope, we do not require the articles, it will be easy to sell them for that amount.

. . . . .

P.S.—Ignace Courthial has just arrived here.

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P.R.O. 469/162

February 13, 1755.

(Extract)

The opportunity of a ship lying ready to sail from Berbice to Europe makes it my duty to acquaint YY. HH. that the fear of some undertaking by the Spaniards against these Colonies is almost over. I have received last week a letter from one of the emissaries, who informed me that it had been the common talk of the whole coast that all the preparations were tending to make an attack on us; but that now he himself having read the Royal Orders, he could assure me that they extended only to the expedition to Rio Negro and the Amazon in order to regulate the delimitation....

I am particularly pleased to be able to have the honour to report this, for notwithstanding that I had little fear for the Colony, such an undertaking, if put into execution, would have almost ruined it, and I should have had my work cut out to defend the fortress with so weak a garrison.

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P.R.O. 469/176

May 31, 1755.

(Extracts)

The measures framed by YY. HH. respecting the transfer of slaves from the bread plantation, brick-fields and dwellings to Your Honours' three plantations will undoubtedly tend to the Company's profit and advantage and such reinforcement was urgently needed. May I however beg to be allowed to submit a few remarks with which I flatter myself YY. HH. will not disagree?

Firstly I shall have the honour to say that with the ten slaves which YY. HH. have been pleased to set aside for the work at the Fort it is an utter and absolute impossibility not only to execute any work but even to keep the Fort and dwellings in a proper state of repair, so that in the course of time one thing after another will be forced to fall into ruin and decay[1]. I consider it my bounden duty to inform YY. HH. of this, so that later I may not be held responsible for the dilapidation of the buildings. At the Fort in Berbice there are nearly two hundred slaves including those in the brick-fields; that number is able to get through some work.

Respecting the slaves in the dwelling-houses I cannot but give Your Honours' measures my fullest approval, having myself long desired some such regulation; never-

[1] For the fulfilment of this prediction, see pp. 408–412.

theless I cannot refrain from complaining of Your Honours' harsh treatment of me and mine in this matter.

Three macroon[1] women and one man who, since they were utterly unable to render any service on the plantations, were employed in weeding and manuring my garden (the gardener being one of my own slaves), are taken from me. Likewise all my hunters, who can now go and hunt for the managers, since red slaves are useless on sugar plantations. And in addition to that comes Your Honours' command that naught but cattle may be purchased with the molasses.

So, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, with no more game, no fish, no vegetables, without even any English provisions, I may, like the meanest servant, make shift with a piece of salt meat. My son[2], who has now had the honour to serve the Honble. Co. for more than ten years at a salary of 14 gldrs. per month (less than the meanest mechanic or foreman), upon whom YY. HH. have yourselves conferred the command of Demerara and who has done all in his power for the interest of his masters and the welfare of the Colony (which, with the Lord's blessing, YY. HH. will ere long perceive, notwithstanding all the frivolous and lying reports circulated concerning that Colony)—he gets not only not the least increase of salary, but the few slaves he had in his service are taken from him and he is left with one maid, so that he must sit like an exile on that island, unable even to send any orders up or down the river, or anyone to board and search incoming vessels. This, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, is very hard for him and, YY. HH., if pleased to consider it, will surely agree in what I say. The chief surgeon, whose salary is three times as large, who is not wanted and could very well be dispensed with, keeps his four slaves.

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[1] Macroon slaves were those too ill or too old to work.

[2] Jonathan Samuel (see p. 32).

I certainly thought that my son would have taken the liberty of begging YY. HH. to grant him his discharge and even advised him to do so, but he replied that such was not yet his intention, that he would, however, have the honour of writing to YY. HH. and that he flattered himself YY. HH. would give ear to his legitimate complaint and pass a gracious resolution thereupon.

. . . . .

As I now write this I have staying at my house the chiefs of the Panacay tribe up in the Cuyuni. I must keep them friendly at all costs for many weighty reasons, therefore provide them with bread &c. during their stay, and the same with other Indians. Since I get no cassava from the bread plantation now (that being laid waste) nor from the other gardens I cannot possibly keep this up, for I would have to buy three or four hogsheads every month at 15 gldrs. per hogshead. My predecessor, and of this I can give YY. HH. the most solemn assurance, always received from the plantations not only all the bread he required but at every Court meeting an ox and several head of small cattle. I get nothing of the sort, and since my return from Europe I have even had fourteen or fifteen of my own oxen killed.

I trust that the measures laid down by YY. HH. will have the desired results. Will YY. HH. kindly examine closely the estimates and the annual yield of sugar? I cannot see that there is any reason for complaint, and I know not a single private plantation which proportionately yields the same quantity of sugar as do those of the Honble. Co.

The fear of an invasion by the Spaniards is, as I have already had the honour to advise YY. HH., mostly passed away, and there is now a peaceful lull on that account.

Reasons to the very slightest extent are not afforded to the Spaniards to enable them to show the least appearance

of discontentment; of that I have always taken the most scrupulous care, and have done everything that was in my power to maintain good friendship and neighbourliness; but then, on the other hand, I have always been very attentive to permit no encroachment on Your Honours' territory or jurisdiction, because in such cases, if the least forbearance be shown, it can sometimes result in very evil and irreparable consequences.

Right Honourable Sirs, it is only too true that the intention has existed of attacking and surprising us, and I have still a perfect belief therein; but the disgrace that has befallen the Spanish Minister, the Marquis de Ensenada[1], has entirely turned the tables here in America. Mr Gedney Clarke has given me the first information thereof, advising me to do my best to make it public in Orinoco, following which wholesome advice I immediately sent a letter, by express, to the General commanding there, under pretence of imparting this important news as

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[1] Somodevilla y Bengoechea (Zenon de), b. *1702*, d. *1781*, created in *1736* Marquis de la Ensenada. From the post of a supernumerary clerk in the ministry of marine, which he obtained in *1720*, he rose, by dint of his extraordinary administrative talents (at first chiefly devoted to naval and military organization), to the rank of Secretary of State in *1741*, holding various ministries concurrently both under Philip V and Ferdinand VI. Though Spain possessed a smaller army than France and a weaker fleet than England all Ensenada's efforts were directed to holding the balance of power between those two countries. A powerful combination, in which Sir Benjamin Keene, the English Ambassador in Madrid, played a conspicuous part, was formed to compass his fall, which took place in *1754*; this was celebrated in London by public rejoicings, so fully was it recognized that Ensenada had been the life and spirit of the Spanish navy. (*Don Zenon de Somodevilla, marqués de la Ensenada, ensayo biografico.* By Antonio Rodríguez Villa. Madrid, *1878*.)

It is perhaps not entirely without some reference to the above that the Duke of Newcastle was able to write in *1754*, "I have at last got the ribbon [of the Bath] for Sir Benjamin" and that the compliment was heightened by the King of Spain performing the ceremony of investiture. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* vol. x. p. 1190.

a friend and good neighbour; and I inclosed therewith, for his greater assurance, an English newspaper. I have obtained a most polite reply, with an expression of great thankfulness, and am informed for certain that a ship was immediately despatched to Spain with the object of fetching further orders.

Since that time they have continued diligently to recruit, but everywhere experiencing want, the majority of their people have dispersed. The Commanding Officer and head engineer, who were ready to set out to come here (under pretence of buying necessaries), are dead, and most of the rest are very ill.

All this notwithstanding, they will try to creep in softly, and, as far as possible, to approach and surround us; and it is certain that they have now taken complete possession of the Creek Iruwary, which flows into the Cuyuni, which is indisputably Your Honours' territory. The Post located by order of the Court up in Cuyuni is situated not more than ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings.

The Chiefs of the Panacays (a powerful tribe which has never before been here) have expressly come down to offer their help against the Spaniards if required, and they are going to settle down with their dwellings round the Post.

I am sure and certain that they [the Spaniards] have their eye upon some rich mines thereabouts, although this is as yet kept very secret. I am of opinion that it is my unavoidable duty, so long as YY. HH. may be pleased to intrust this Colony to my care, to watch over and indefatigably look after the interests of the same, and that under the Lord's blessing I shall do, and in such a manner that I may be always prepared and ready to answer for my conduct before Omniscient God and before man. Your Honours are far from the actual spot. It is impossible for YY. HH. to be able to know as minutely as is necessary the ins and outs of things.

How I have exerted myself to perform every duty, and to be of assistance as far as possible to the colonists, is abundantly known to YY. HH.; but the place swarms with enemies, who try in all possible ways to disgust and make me downhearted; they even try to mislead YY. HH., and to give evil impressions with regard to myself. Of this I am only too well aware.

[1]My desire to further Demerara and to make it a

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[1] The following letter written by Gedney Clarke to the Directors of the West India Company forms a fitting corollary to the remaining portion of Storm's despatch.

P.R.O. 469/179

Barbados, August 4, 1755.

Honoured Sirs,

I have been a long time indebted for your favour of the 11th of March 1754. I did not answer it before, as I would not presume to take up the least part of your Honours' time, unless it was upon some affair of your Colony's.

I think I am now obliged to informe your Honours that I have almost compleated a very good Sugar Work upon that plantation, in Demorary, called Loo, belonging to my eldest Son, now upon his travels in Italy.

The Expence of this work, with the Negroes upon it, has cost me above 60,000 guilders, including the cost of twenty Negroes more that I have purchased and sent over this day, to add to the number already upon it; and as I am informed the Inhabitants have applyed for your Honours' assistance in sending a Ship out for a Cargo of Gold Coast Slaves; I desire to have forty or fifty of them; For which I will pay as those that have subscribed.

As your Honours have given the liberty and desired me to give you my thoughts at times concerning this Colony; I cannot any longer delay to informe you That there seems to be a great heart burning between the Inhabitants of Isequebe and those of Demorary, insomuch that I believe the Generality of the former would impede the Settlement & prosperity of the Latter all in their Power.

Your Honours will therefore consider the great disadvantage it is to that young settlement to be intirely under the direction & Government of Isequebe.

If your Honours wd. think proper to make Demorary Independent and would be pleased to appoint a well experienced prudent man for a Governor I would answer for it, That within four years there would be many more Inhabitants, and a much larger quantity of sugars made in a year than is now or ever will be made in Isequebe.

flourishing Colony is one of the principal reasons of this, for the jealousy and hatred towards that river is not to be expressed, whereof YY. HH. will be convinced by the latter portion of this letter when I have the honour of reporting upon that Colony. To persevere in my efforts in that direction I think to be my duty and in accordance with my oath, for I foresee, according to all human reason, that the true interests of the Company demand this ; that that Colony, if YY. HH. will but look favourably upon it, will in a short time far surpass this there is not the least further doubt, and I think YY. HH. will already next year have proofs hereof.

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This I do assure your Honours that I have so good opinion of Demorary that I have been induced to send over to Amsterdam one of my sons that he may be master of the Dutch Language and be able to improve to the utmost the Lands which I have taken up for him and his other Brothers in that river :

A few days ago I was informed that they wanted every sort of Provisions ; upon which I sent a Vessel immediately over, with a supply ; and ordered my Director there to let them know that I would assist them whenever they wanted.

I do assure you, Gentlemen, that I will do any thing for your or their service provided I can be assured of your Inclination and Resolution to countenance, protect & assist that Settlement ; If you are so inclined and inclined also to make it a seperate Government Be pleased to give me Authority to Informe those Inhabitants in these Islands that wait to have the good news of that Government being upon a better footing.

Your Honours are not Insensible that a new Settlement is to have all the Incouragement possible ; If that be neglected at the beginning, while People are warm upon the Affair, it can scarce be accomplished afterwards to any Advantage.

I am credibly informed that the land on, as well as the river, Demorary is in every respect preferable to that of Isequebe.

It is your desire that I should be plain & free, therefore I shal make no Apoligy for the liberty I have now taken. If you do me the Honour of writing at any time, viâ London let it be under cover to Wm. Whitaker Esq., Merchant there

As I am Yr. Honours

Most Faithful & Obedient Servant

GEDNEY CLARKE.

I do not derive the least benefit from the progress of that Colony, on the contrary, it gives me much trouble, anxiety, work and vexation, but the interests of the Company are largely concerned. I hope YY. HH. will implicitly believe this, for it is the positive truth.

The settlers in that Colony have the honour to write to YY. HH. by this vessel and to send a circumstantial report. They show in their treatment of my son that they have grateful hearts and that they willingly recognize the trouble that is being taken for them. There is perfect accord and this will further their progress: *Concordia res parvae crescunt*[1].

I have the honour to thank YY. HH. from the bottom of my heart for graciously appointing the Surveyor van Bercheyck to be Lieutenant-Captain[2] and hope he will prove worthy of Your Honours' continued favour.

. . . . .

Concerning the bad quality of the sugar about which YY. HH. have with reason so frequently complained I am heartily sorry, but what, Noble and Right Honourable Sirs, am I to say about it? They obstinately declare here that

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[1] See pp. 267 and 529.

[2] Laurens Lodewijk van Bercheyck, a nephew of Storm's wife, was appointed Surveyor and accompanied the Director-General to Essequibo in *1752*. He was given command of the Militia in *1754* (at 16 guilders a month, see p. 310) and appointed lieutenant-captain in *1755* (*vide supra*); married in *1756* a daughter (p. 33) of the Director-General and succeeded the latter's son in the command of Demerara in *1761* (pp. 387 and 396). The salary attached to this command was so poor (p. 396) that he was unable to make ends meet and applied for his discharge in *1763* (p. 424) but died (*May 1764*), "at the age of full thirty-three years" (p. 452), before it arrived. Storm's eulogy upon him and two letters written by his wife are given on pp. 452–454; to sum them up briefly, van Bercheyck had half ruined himself (see p. 482) and worked himself to death for the benefit of the West India Company, and the Company rewarded his widow and children with a gift of fifty pounds.

I am quite ignorant in these things and such has even been written to YY. HH.

It would astonish me very much if a person arriving from Europe, possessing common sense and judgment and not lazy but observant, were unable to learn the whole business, and thoroughly too, in one year. I have now been here more than fifteen years, have inspected, enquired into and taken notes of everything, and yet am supposed to know nothing. It is true that I am unwilling to give ear to old prejudices and ready to try all that is good, however new it may be, and that is just what they are unwilling to do.

If YY. HH. will kindly examine all the sugar that comes from Demerara it will be found, on the whole, to surpass that from here. Why should not Malgraef, the manager, be able to turn it out equally well? I myself think that he could, if he would learn from the new planters, but *hoc opus hic labor.* If YY. HH. will be good enough to send at the first opportunity six small barrels of good unslaked lime (for our lime is of no use whatever) then I will go to "Achterkerke" myself and boil a few casks of sugar in person; then we shall see whether it is impossible to produce good sugar on that plantation.

In my last I had the honour to inform YY. HH. of the estrangement, jealousy and envy existing between this river and Demerara and the measures it was resolved to adopt to remedy this—to unite and fuse both rivers in one in accordance with Your Honours' desire and commands conveyed to me in Europe, taking one elector from Demerara and giving two of their citizens seats in the Court. I wrote to YY. HH. as though it were already an accomplished fact, not in the least expecting that there would be the slightest difficulty about it. But to my utmost surprise I found that the electors positively refused to receive an elector from Demerara into their College and had filled

the two vacant seats with two Essequibo colonists. Indeed one of them, named S. van der Heyde, on my asking him in very polite terms the reason of such action, replied :—"We have resolved to keep to Essequibo; we wish to have nothing to do with Demerara and don't know what kind of people live there."

. . . . .

After the arrival of "De Goude Spoor" I went to Demerara to inspect everything closely, it being seventeen months since I had been there. I spent four weeks there, going everywhere, and even proceeded several hours' journey into the interior. I found a great change for the better and the Colony considerably advanced, there being every kind of probability that if YY. HH. will but look upon it with favour it will within a few years be an important possession.

The burgher-officers assembled immediately upon my arrival and spoke at great length of their grievances, complaining bitterly of the hatred borne them by the people here through no fault of theirs. They also begged I would warmly commend their cause to YY. HH., intimating that they themselves would take the liberty of writing to YY. HH. by this vessel. I promised them that I would do all that was in my limited power, especially as I was convinced that the true interests of the Company were identical with their welfare; that I did not in the least doubt that so long as they behaved as loyal subjects YY. HH. would act towards them as fathers. This they unanimously promised always to do and at all times to give real proofs thereof.

I highly approved of their intention to write to YY. HH. and advised them to take no heed of hatred or envy, but to go on putting forth their best endeavours and to rely with certainty upon Your Honours' just and reasonable rule.

Mr Gedney Clarke[1], who has now completed his water-mill (indisputably the finest in all America) and is commencing to construct another like it, has, together with all the burghers of Demerara, been persuading me very strongly to proceed to Europe, accompanied by some delegates from that Colony, in order to lay before YY. HH. the interests and true state of Demerara and to propose measures for making it one of the most flourishing colonies on the continent. I was at length obliged to reply to their oft-repeated instances and told them that I felt greatly obliged to them for the trust reposed in me and that I heartily wished it were the same in Essequibo and concord as perfect reigned there; that a voyage to Europe for a man of my age who has so recently performed it, was not so lightly to be undertaken, but that as I was always ready to sacrifice my life for the interests and welfare of my masters and the progress and well-being of the Colonies I would undertake the voyage if YY. HH., to whom alone I was responsible and whose commands I was obliged to obey, were good enough to grant me permission to do so. They have offered to pay all expenses, so that it will cost nothing to the Honble. Co. or to me. For these reasons I take the liberty of asking Your Honours' permission and shall hold myself in readiness to set out upon the receipt of Your Honours' commands.

Such palpable untruths have been dished up to YY. HH. and such endeavours are made to prejudice YY. HH. against that river that I cannot really sufficiently wonder at some people's shamelessness, which appears to me incomprehensible. That Colony is of such importance to the Honble. Co., it promises so many and such considerable advantages that I feel compelled, would I remain a loyal servant and mindful of my oath, to take the matter to

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[1] See pp. 39–42.

heart and sacrifice all else to it. I have nothing to do in Europe, no more private matters there. I have taken a last farewell of all my friends, so that nothing but the true interests of the Honble. Co. and the welfare of the Colonies can induce me to undertake so trying a voyage. It is absolutely essential that YY. HH. be exactly informed of this matter—that is of the highest importance. Mr Spoors held command here for two years, and very ably, and he could well undertake it again for another year, wherefore I entreat YY. HH. to grant me the permission asked.

Mr J. N. van Eijs has gone over to Demerara with 114 slaves (to be increased to 150) and a water-mill, like that belonging to Mr Clarke, is being constructed with every possible speed upon his plantation ; I doubt not that he will be followed by others, both from Berbice and from the English islands, many waiting to see how matters will turn out.

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P.R.O. 469/185

August 27, 1755.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

In my last by "De Goude Spoor," which I trust YY. HH. received safely, I had the honour to inform YY. HH. that our uneasiness respecting the Spanish war preparations had largely ceased and that trade with Orinoco was being carried on as before, one of Your Honours' canoes being at present in that river for the

purpose of buying mules and expected back in eight or ten days.

Although I am not free from anxiety so long as the preparations go on there and shall not be until they have really started off upon the pretended expedition to Rio Negro, I do not think we have much to fear from that quarter, the more so since they are in actual want of everything and their recruits are deserting or dying by heaps.

In the present circumstances I must however regard this alarm as a particular favour of divine Providence, since it has been the cause of providing me well with powder, &c., both from home and from Barbados; failing that supply we should at present be in dire straits, for to my intense sorrow I must inform YY. HH. that what I have long foreseen and have feared for many years has at length taken place, that is, war with the natives.

The tribe of the Acuways, which is very strong in the interior, and some of whose villages both in Essequibo and in Massaruni and Demerara are situated next to our plantations, commenced by attacking the dwellings of some free creoles belonging to the plantation "Oosterbeek," and massacring those they found there. Thereupon they spread themselves and caused terror everywhere. Most of the planters living in Massaruni retired to an island with their slaves and their most valuable goods, and none of them dared to stay at night on their plantations. A few days after that the aforesaid Acuways attacked the plantation of a certain Pieter Marchal (who, according to general report, is the chief cause of this revolt) at half-past five in the morning, killing two of his people and wounding five (most of whom have since died), but were subsequently driven back by the resistance of the aforesaid Marchal after they had wounded over the eye with an arrow Philip

Plantijn, a soldier in Your Honours' service, who chanced to be there and who died the third day after.

In Demerara, where all was still quiet, they last week attacked the plantation of one Schuneman; there was fortunately no one at home, so they plundered and carried off everything.

Vessels come to the Fort daily for guns and powder, wherewith the whole Colony is very badly provided; with the latter I can supply them, but being very badly off for the former I have been able to assist only a few and have now but six guns and two blunderbusses left, besides those actually in use by the soldiers, which I can assure YY. HH. are the worst I have ever seen.

At the request of the planters I am having the old Fort Kijkoveral[1] cleaned by the best of the macroon negroes who raise bread up the river for the plantations "Duynenburg" and "Achterkerke"; to these the planters dwelling highest up have added all their slaves and the houses there are now being built and got ready by the aforesaid planters. As soon as they are completed I will have four cannon and ten or twelve swivel-guns with the necessary ammunition placed there and will detach a corporal and four men for sentry duty, these being all that I can spare; two men have already been posted upon the furthest plantation, belonging to Mr E. Pypersberg, and I shall have but few left here.

Many of the colonists, and amongst them several Councillors, have requested me to send out an invitation to the Carib Indians to take the field against the Acuways, but as there are many difficulties connected with this, I have not yet decided to do so, and am of opinion that such measures should not be taken until absolutely necessary. Because, if the Caribs come (which they will certainly do

[1] See p. 474.

at the first invitation), they will come several hundred strong and begin by asking for bread and other provisions, of which we have none.

Secondly, they will also ask for some guns, powder and shot, and in such quantities that I hesitate about putting all these weapons into their hands, the Indians being as a rule not greatly to be trusted and friendly towards us rather through fear or by reason of the profit they make out of trading with us than from inclination.

We must also consider whether we can take the responsibility before Almighty God of causing so much bloodshed as would certainly be occasioned here, the more so since I presume and really believe that actual cause has been given to the Acuways, in which belief I am confirmed by the fact that up to the present no plantation has been attacked except those whose owners, according to common report, are accused of having grossly ill-treated that nation, and who were the cause of several Acuways being killed by the Caribs[1].

I have spoken earnestly of the matter to those persons accused, but having no proofs have not been able to go further, although I am gradually becoming more aware that there is more behind this than we yet know, and it is possible that if we proceeded too quickly the old proverb might be realized:—"Little thieves are hanged, but the big ones are let off[2]."

What gives me further cause for suspicion is the fact

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[1] im Thurn (*Among the Indians of Guiana, 1883*, p. 163) says:—

"...the Ackawoi, Arecuna and Macusi tribes belong to the Carib branch; to use the simple term Carib indifferently of the tribe and of the branch is therefore apt to confuse."

The natives Storm calls Caribs were probably those whom im Thurn (*loc. cit.*) refers to as "True Caribs." We, in this work, always refer to the Caribs as a nation and to all other denominations of Indians as tribes. Cf. also pp. 178–181.

[2] *De kleyne dieven hangt men en de groote laet men loope.*

that although I have already sent several orders for some of the Aruwaks, neighbours of the Acuways, connected with the latter and well acquainted with all their affairs, to come to me in order that I may examine them and send them to the Chiefs of the Acuways to try and establish peace, these Indians have immediately vanished, and are nowhere to be found, but a few days before they had been seen in their houses and spoken to. At the bottom of this are no doubt the people who are afraid that those Indians will bring to light too many hidden acts of injustice, it having been foretold me that such would occur. I have sent orders to Demerara, to the Posts, and everywhere to bring me some Acuways here either by persuasive or forcible measures, and I have hopes that when I get some to speak to I shall be able to make peace with them. But if I am unable to succeed in so doing, and if, as I hear, they assemble in larger numbers and persist in their hostilities, I shall be compelled to choose the lesser of two evils and set the Carib nation at work, which I cordially hope will not be necessary, and which step I shall only take in the last extremity.

The above-mentioned P. Marchal has taken refuge with Mr Cornelis Boter, upon the plantation "Vreedenburg," where some Acuways were seen at night near the dwellings —a sure sign that they are in pursuit of Marchal, but Mr Boter was warned betimes by the Warouws[1].

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[1] The Warouws (or Garouna tribe) frequently rendered useful services to the Colony (see pp. 239, 404 and 564); in *1764* Storm mentions them (see p. 460) as the chief inhabitants of Mahaica Creek, between Demerara and Berbice—"hiring themselves out for work to the whites, being good workmen"—and in *1767* we hear of thousands of them dwelling on the islands in the mouth of the Orinoco, whence hundreds fled to Dutch territory on the Barima through ill-treatment on the part of the Spanish (see p. 548).

"There are in Guiana four branches of the American race—the Warraus, Arawaks, Wapianas and Caribs" (im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, *1883*, p. 162).

"They are," says Schomburgk of the Warouws, in annotating Ralegh's

Since the departure of "De Spoor" there have died Mr A. Buisson, Councillor of this Colony, and Jan Grootendorst, pilot in Your Honours' service; in the place of the latter I have appointed (though without wages or rations in accordance with Your Honours' orders) the pilot Jan Willemse, but lately discharged.

According to a letter received the day before yesterday from Mr G. Clarke in Barbados the English in North America have taken from the French two fortresses[1] and two warships[2], one of 74 and one of 64 guns, which they have brought to Halifax and are in full march to attack the other French forts.

The season continues to be (thank God) extra favourable for the crops and affords well grounded hopes for an abundant yield.

There being nothing more worthy of Your Honours' attention I conclude with the assurance that I shall ever be with profound respect and esteem,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble and obedient Servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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*Guiana* (*Hakl. Soc. Pub.* iii. p. 49), "the Guaraunos or Guaraunu of the Spanish historians, an Indian tribe who principally inhabit the delta of the Orinoco, and the swampy coast between the rivers Pomeroon and Barima."

[1] Forts Beauséjour and Gaspareaux, in the valley of the Ohio. Beauséjour, garrisoned by 100 soldiers aided by 300 Acadians, capitulated, after a feeble resistance of four days, to Colonel Robert Monckton on *June 16, 1755*; the garrison retired with the honours of war—the regulars to be sent to Louisburg, the Acadians to remain unmolested. The latter, however, subsequently refusing to swear allegiance to the King unless exempted from bearing arms, were declared rebels and outlaws and expatriated. Longfellow has immortalized their sad story in "Evangeline."

Gaspareaux, after a short defence by a score of soldiers and a few inhabitants, surrendered on conditions similar to the above.

[2] "L'Alcide" and "Le Lys," captured by Admiral Boscawen off the coast of Newfoundland on *June 8, 1755*—the first shots fired in the Seven Years' War.

P.S.—Your Honours' canoe has just arrived from Orinoco with ten mules. The people on board report to me that the place swarms with soldiers and boats.

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P.R.O. 469/186

September 9, 1755.

(Extract)

After the despatch of my last the Postholder of Maroco has come and has brought me a letter from a missionary Father written to him from Orinoco, wherein he has requested him to deliver up and send to him some Indians of the Chiama tribe[1], by us called Shiamacotte, and who have already (over ten years) been dwelling under the Post, adding that, in case of reluctance, he would come with sufficient force to fetch them, and take them away in chains. The letter has appeared to me a very surprising one. I have given the Postholder a written draft how the letter is to be answered, copy whereof herewith[2]. I have already caused a quantity of powder to be sold, and shall continue, as far as possible, to follow Your Honours' commands therein; but, Right Honourable Sirs, I know not whether such action is very prudent in the present state of affairs, when the flames of war begin to approach us so closely[3].

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[1] This tribe is only honoured with a single mention by Storm. They may have been of the tribe Schomburgk knew as "Chaymas," a sister-tribe of the Akawois. (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* vii. p. 30.)

[2] Reproduced in *Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 122.

[3] The Directors' reply (dated *31 May, 1756*) was as follows:

"Your action with respect to the Akawois also has our approval, since we are fully convinced that nothing can contribute more to the safety of the Colonies, than a kind, but at the same time circumspect, treatment of the neighbouring native tribes; for which reason we hereby

P.R.O. 469/196

March 12, 1756.

(Extract)

I have the honour to inform YY. HH. that the accusations made against Pieter Marchal concerning the war with the Acuways were brought up at the last meeting of the Court, when the Carib Chief, Aretanna, otherwise called Maraywakke, appeared in person, in consequence of my orders sent to him, and was examined through the medium of the Burgher Captain, L. G. van der Heyde, and Bastiaen Christiaense, both perfectly acquainted with the Carib languages. The Chief repeated the charge he had already made to me against the said P. Marchal, and stood his ground without the slightest variation, his language to his accuser being very courageous.

I had previously charged Adriaen Christiaense, sent by the Court to summon the aforesaid Indian, to examine the man narrowly in Barima concerning these matters, and to write down his answers, in order to see whether this Indian would stand by his words and make no variations in his tale, but found that his words, both to me and to A. Christiaense, agreed in every detail with what he said before the Court. I have the honour to send herewith a copy of the aforesaid interrogatories made by A. Christiaense and the answers of the Indian. P. Marchal, being

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urgently recommend that you do everything which can tend towards the furtherance of mutual peace and the growth of public confidence.

"At this opportunity we reiterate the orders of this Assembly, already communicated to you by previous letters, regarding the sale of such necessaries as were sent you by us or purchased by you for the defence of the Colony of Essequibo against the dreaded invasion by the Spaniards (at least as far as they can be spared), and also those regarding the transmission to this body of a specified account together with the proceeds thereof. We trust that those orders have already been obeyed by you."

Platitudes and parsimony.

heard in the presence of the Indian, persisted in his flat denials, whereupon the Indian told him that he was no honest man, that he retracted his spoken words from fear of punishment, and that he dared not stick to what he had said. "I," said he, "committed the deed by your advice, and killed the Acuways, from whom I brought you four slaves, and although I am an Indian, you do not hear me deny what I have done, as you do." With other hard expressions.

But since, however, it is a prescribed custom here that no Indian's testimony can hold good against that of Christians (a custom that rests on good grounds, because most of them are not to be trusted, and many of them can be made to say whatever one wishes for drink, or other considerations), Marchal was declared innocent of the charges, although I, and many with me, think him really guilty.

He, consequently, returned to his plantation, but on his arrival there the Acuways (who had remained quiet, and done nothing for a very long time) appeared again in large numbers, and compelled him, if he wished to save his life, to take flight as speedily as possible, so that he was obliged to leave his place, and has, so I hear, entered the service of Mr Secretary Spoors on His Honour's plantation. I should by no means advise him to think of returning to his place, because whether he be guilty or not guilty, the Acuways would certainly kill him.

It is my belief that this business will quiet down slowly, the Acuways up in Demerara being already perfectly satisfied, and coming here to trade with the Christians as before.

The delay in Capt. Crey's arrival causes much uneasiness and places me in the utmost difficulty. Already for some weeks past the employees, the soldiers and I have had absolutely nothing to eat but dried cod without butter,

oil or anything whatsoever with it. Even that is now finished, and I have nothing at all for the rations to be distributed on the 6th since no other barques now come with supplies from the islands or from North America and I shall *nolens volens* have to lay hands upon the few cattle on Your Honours' plantations. During the long years that I have been in this Colony I have seen bad times occasionally but have never suffered such want as now, for there is a total lack of everything except bread, of which I have enough in the warehouse for about four weeks. Already for a long time neither Your Honours' plantations nor I have been able to send anyone out salting, for neither is there any more salt nor any trading-wares with which to pay the Indians.

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P.R.O. 470/1

July 7, 1756.

(Extracts)

It is an undeniable fact that the Colony has for some years been a burden to the Honble. Co. and that the expenses cannot be met by the income. This has grieved me sorely and I would with heart and soul that it had been in my power to alter this; I have indeed put forth every possible endeavour to do so, have it still continually before me and will still exert myself to the utmost. All hope of success has not yet left me, although the meagre influence of my representations and the opposition of folks who have their own interests more at heart than those of the Honble. Co. often discourage me. I shall, however, not give in but so long as I draw breath, endeavour, with the Lord's merciful blessing and assistance, to do my duty as an honest man and promote with heart and soul, not the apparent but the true and fundamental interests of my masters.

. . . . .

As peace has not yet been made with the Acuways of Mazaruni and Essequibo, I am obliged to leave the garrison at the old fort[1], and cannot yet imagine how this matter will turn out. It is, however, of the utmost importance to this Colony. I send YY. HH. herewith a copy of the report of the Assistant of the Post Arinda up in Essequibo, who recently came down.

This report, if one can firmly rely on it, gives much reason for anxiety. YY. HH. will please to remember that on the small map which I handed to His late Serene Highness and laid before Your Honours' assembly[2], there are marked two or three places where, according to the report of a Jesuit Father, the Spaniards were establishing themselves, wherewith this report very well agrees. If this be true, we should be shut in by them in the same manner as the English in North America by the French forts of the Ohio, which would be of the very worst consequences to this Colony, and must by all means be stopped, directly or indirectly.

. . . . .

The Acuways of Demerara, with whom we are now at peace, as I had the honour of reporting in my last, let me know yesterday that the chiefs of the hostile Acuways had resolved to come to me about the middle of this month, July, in order to make peace. I hope they will do so, when, I doubt not, I shall come to terms with them, for the Indians put great trust in me.

. . . . .

The colonist, D. Couvreur, who has just come from the Upper Mazaruni, where he lives, has given me information which confirms the report of the Assistant in Essequibo, saying that several Indians from up stream have retreated to his place; that between two and three days' journey above

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[1] i.e. Fort Kijkoveral, see p. 474.

[2] See p. 267.

his plantation, which is equal to about twelve or, at most, fifteen hours of travel, there live some whites, who have there a great house and more than 200 Indians with them, whom they make believe a lot of things, and are able to keep under absolute command. He has proposed to me that in the month of August, when the water at the falls is somewhat lower, he shall go himself, with some other colonists and creoles of the Company, and carry off those whites and bring them here. This was very acceptable to me, as I know him to be a man capable of a daring deed; wherefore I have accepted this, and will, at the next meeting of the Court, submit it for consideration.

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P.R.O. 470/50

June 27, 1757.

(Extract)

In the matter of I. Knott's petition[1] my feelings were quite different from those of the Court of Policy, and since I was outvoted in this affair I consider it my bounden duty respectfully to lay before YY. HH. my views and the grounds

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[1] That petition (*Ven. Arb. Brit. App.* ii. p. 128) was as follows :—

"To the Director-General and the Court of Policy, in Session at Fort Zeelandia, the 4th July, 1756.

"Mr Isaac Knott, citizen and inhabitant of the River of Demerary, very respectfully makes known that he would be glad to have permission to cut timber for a few consecutive years in the Rivers of Waini and Pomeroon; he therefore humbly requests you, the Director-General and Councillors, to be pleased to have the goodness to grant him, the petitioner aforesaid, permission to cut timber in the aforesaid rivers, for the time of six, eight, or more, consecutive years, as you may determine, on condition of paying once per year a recognition of 1000 florins to the West India Company, and, moreover, all the tonnage dues of the incoming barques, according to the custom of these lands."

The Court's resolution ran :—

"Inasmuch as this matter cannot be dealt with here, the petitioner is referred to the Directors. Done in Council, 4th July, 1756."

upon which they are based. YY. HH. are pleased to say that the question of opening or not opening the River Pomeroon is bound up with the consideration of I. Knott's petition. In reply to this, I beg to observe with all due deference that this does not appear to be so. Because it is a certainty and as clear as the light of Heaven that the opening of the Pomeroon would be most injurious to this river and to Demerara. It is a matter—and I say so with all respect—that ought not to be thought of until Essequibo and Demerara are so thickly populated that not a foot of unappropriated land is to be found.

The opening up of the Pomeroon is really what has been desired and aimed at for some time past, although the Court of Policy will propose no such measure because the arguments with which I have always opposed it have been found to be so unanswerable and so convincing that nothing in the world could upset them. I ask YY. HH. to consider what advantage it would be if some of our well-to-do planters were to ask for a piece of land there to be laid out as a plantation, and employing their best slaves to cut down timber in Pomeroon, raised no produce here except as a blind, and so much less in proportion as they employed slaves in Pomeroon. Would that not be considerably to the disadvantage both of the Company and of the shipping interests? to say nothing of the less wealthy planters both here and in Demerara breaking up their establishments and going to live in Pomeroon. They would then share in the profits of the timber, plant nothing of importance, and draw the inhabitants away from these parts.

A few strangers might possibly establish themselves there, but would there not also be some who only sought to profit by the timber business? since the soil in Demerara, being as good as any in America, no one, *cæteris paribus*, will choose to settle on an uninhabited river when he can

enjoy the same advantages on an inhabited one, especially since there is usually a lack of everything in an uninhabited one. In proof of this, I may mention that I have been obliged to have the landing-stage in front of Mr van Eijs' plantation removed from here to Demerara.

The following is a striking proof of what strangers do when they are granted the privilege of the timber:—Mr Croydon, of Barbados, has a plantation here in Suppiname on which he keeps about forty able-bodied slaves, whom he already had some time before my departure for Europe. He has, however, to my knowledge, not yet sent a single pound of cultivated produce by any ship, and has raised nothing but timber. Had there been more like him here, we should have been compelled to stop this kind of thing.

In this matter I am entirely impartial, since neither I nor any of my people have ever cut or sold a single foot of timber. I have therefore not the least interest in the grant or refusal of I. Knott's petition, and he being a stranger, I have not the slightest reason for being either for or against him. The only thing that I have in view is the interest of the Honourable Company, according to my oath and duty.

I regard the River of Pomeroon as a district bringing no earthly profit to the Honourable Company, and I am, moreover, convinced that if we should at any time be so fortunate as to see this river and Demerara fully inhabited (which is not to be expected for the next fifty years, since quite 300 plantations, and possibly more with a little trouble, can still be laid out), no one would then be kept from settling in Pomeroon by the fact that there is no boureway wood[1] left there. For in Demerara it does not grow at all; yet this does not keep people from establishing themselves there. This is why I thought it best that the

[1] The letter- or leopard-wood mentioned on p. 264.

Company should derive therefrom as much profit as possible. Not that I think that I. Knott's petition should be granted just as it is; far from it, for more persons would certainly follow his example, and we could not well demand the same taxes for 20 slaves at work there as for forty, more or less. But if we made a contract for a percentage of the value of the timber, besides tonnage dues on barques and poll-taxes on the slaves, this would, it seems to me, bring in a pretty penny every year, and greatly diminish the yearly burdens of the Company. Had I been able to induce myself to favour the proposal that cutting timber be allowed gratuitously (as YY. HH. formerly granted regarding Berbice), and had I not always opposed the throwing open of Pomeroon, the greater part of the timber in that river would long have been gone. But I consider it my bounden duty never to lose sight of the interest of my masters, and I hope to persist therein with the help of the Lord until my end.

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P.R.O. 470/79

Decemb. 27, 1757.

(Extract)

It does not appear to me, Noble and Right Honble. Sirs, that I alarmed the Colony unnecessarily with fears of war; the critical circumstances in Europe and the action of privateers on these coasts (concerning which I had the honour to inform YY. HH. both by "'t Essequebo Welvaeren" and "Pieter en David") rather compelled me to guard as far as possible the safety and maintenance of the Colony and to move the burghers by every conceivable incentive to contribute their share towards doing so, I deeming it to be my bounden duty to take every necessary precaution lest some day I might be obliged to employ the worst

excuse of a commander, "I did not think this would happen."

And this especially in the present weak and bad state of the garrison, for in the last transport there were really not three men upon whom one could rely. Some were imbeciles, some old and worn-out and the rest mostly Frenchmen, four of which nation lately formed another conspiracy to run off to Orinoco, the plot being discovered and frustrated on the very evening it was to have been carried out.

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P.R.O. 470/99

June 15, 1758.

(Extract)

I deem it to be my bounden duty to submit my sentiments concerning this matter[1] unreservedly to YY. HH. and strictly to carry out the commands I receive, anxiously awaiting the latter, since the longer the delay the greater the loss will be.

My disinterested zeal for the welfare of the Honble. Co. and my honest desire that everything may go on advantageously are the causes of my patience often being put to the proof when I see that my efforts are rendered futile and my best intentions thwarted, so that I am often compelled to say *Video meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor*[2]. But I shall continue to do my best so that I can answer for my conduct before the Almighty and my Masters, and

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[1] The construction of a wind-mill in place of a horse-mill on one of the Company's plantations on account of sickness among the animals.

[2] Ovid, *Met.* VII. 20.

for the rest use patience, for the longer I live the more I find good cause for saying,

*Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores.*
*Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves*[1].

With the exception of the above-mentioned all is, thank God, well, both in the Colony generally and upon Your Honours' plantations in particular, save only that the number of vessels lying in the river simultaneously causes much embarrassment, it being impossible to get the sugar ready for all of them at the same time. This year there departed hence "De Vreede," "De Jonge Abraham" and "D'Essequebsche Vriendschap," and now there are loading "De Willem Zeelandus," "D'Essequebo Welvaere," "De Pieter en David" and "Het Loo," the last-named of which will be obliged to depart not even half laden and "De Pieter en David" to lie a month longer than her time.

These vessels would all have got their cargoes very easily if only proper intervals had been observed in their

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[1] Storm was so fond of quoting portions of these lines that it may be pardonable to reproduce their history as told by Tiberius Claudius Donatus in his life of Virgil. Immediately after Actium the great poet wrote upon Augustus' portal an unsigned couplet running

*Nocte pluit tota, redeunt spectacula mane;*
*Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet*

the authorship of which was promptly claimed by a poetaster, named Bathyllus, who was loaded with honours and gifts as a reward for its composition. In order to put the impudent usurper to shame Virgil then wrote four times upon the portal *sic vos non vobis* in four unfinished lines, the completion of these being, upon the emperor's demand, attempted in vain by various authors. At length Virgil appeared and after having written under the couplet the words

*Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores*

completed his half lines in the following manner:—

*Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves,*
*Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves,*
*Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes,*
*Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves.*

departure from Europe, for cane is abundant, but when they all come together it is impossible; besides, even if all the planters would or could crush continually for those ships the other plantation work would have to stand still and in the following year there would then be no sugar.

Demerara rising daily in the consideration of all the English, so that people are constantly coming over to inspect that river, it is evident that my prognostications concerning it will soon be fulfilled and that it will ere long be fully populated. This year there will already be some yield of coffee, and next year there will be a fair crop, for it seems that many are devoting themselves to that product.

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P.R.O. 470/128

September 9, 1758.

(Extract)

Having had the honour of writing to YY. HH. but a short time ago respecting the state of affairs in Essequibo, I should have very little to say in this letter were I not obliged to inform YY. HH. at the earliest opportunity of an occurrence that caused me not only great surprise but also great embarrassment. Nearly all the Carib Indians living on the River Cuyuni came down the stream last week, and informed Your Honours' creoles, living just below the great fall of that river that the Spaniards of Orinoco, according to their computation about 100 strong, had come down the stream, and made a successful raid upon the Company's Post; that they had carried off as prisoners the Postholder and his assistant, and a creole belonging to YY. HH., together with his wife and children; that they had laid waste the Post and all round it, and had threatened

to come down stream again and serve the whole Colony in the same way.

I immediately sent two trusty creoles up the river with Abarina, the old negro who buys our turtles for us, and told them to find out all that they possibly could. They cannot get back before the departure of the ship which is to take this letter, but I will not fail to inform YY. HH. of the result of their mission as soon as they return.

The deed I have described appears to me to be not only a violation of international law, but also entirely contrary to the usual mode of procedure followed by nations who are at peace with each other. Had Don de Iturriaga[1], who has recently been appointed Viceroy of this portion of America, and who resides in Orinoco, been of opinion that the Post of the Company was on Spanish ground, which is utterly and indisputably untrue, it would have been his duty to draw my attention to the matter in a friendly manner, to demand the removal of the Post, and in case of refusal to abstain from any act of violence until he had first reported the case to his Sovereign.

They have had their eye on the river for some time, and I have always had to defend it most vigorously. All these attempts of theirs furnish convincing proof that the stream must be of much greater importance than we are aware of. It is my opinion that this river is of the greatest importance to YY. HH., much more so than any one of the others, and also that it is perfectly certain and indisputable that they have not the slightest claim to it. If YY. HH. will be pleased to look at the map of this country, drawn by M. d'Anville with the utmost care, YY. HH. will clearly see that this is so. Our boundaries, too, are defined in

[1] José de Iturriaga was appointed Chief Commissioner for the delimitation of Spanish Guiana in *1753*. He retired on account of ill-health in *1767*. Various despatches by him are reproduced in the Appendix to the British Case (Venezuela Boundary Arbitration).

a way which proves that the compiler was very well informed[1].

As soon as my people have returned, and I am in receipt of reliable information, I will send some one to Orinoco to ask for the reason of this behaviour and to demand satisfaction. It would not be very difficult for me, by making use of the Caribs, to pay them back in their own coin and drive them from their present position. But since the Indians are unwilling to go without having some white men at their head, and since the arms and supplies of such an expedition would cost a great deal, I shall not think of it without having received express authority. I trust that this may not be necessary, and that everything will be satisfactorily settled without proceeding to such extremities. My only fear is that this man will devise some fresh attack before orders come from Europe, in which case we shall have to return blow for blow[2].

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[1] The map referred to is that of 1748; it was reproduced in the Atlases to the British Arbitration Cases with Venezuela and Brazil.

[2] The W. I. Co.'s answer, dated May 31, 1759, runs:—

"We have not yet received the originals of your letters per the 'Pieter en David,' but our correspondent at Cork has furnished us with a faithful copy of two letters written by you, the first in Rio Demerara, the 9th September, 1758, and the second without mention of place or date. We defer answering these until we shall have received the originals, or at least until the sailing of 'Essequebo's Welvaren'; but we cannot help remarking, as to the raid upon the Post of Cuyuni by the Spaniards, that not only does it exceedingly astonish us, but also seems to us of the gravest consequence for the Colony. For that reason we shall not fail, as soon as we shall have received fuller information from you, to make upon that subject the necessary representations to the States-General. Meanwhile we should like on this occasion to be exactly informed where the aforesaid Post on the River of Cuyuni was situated; for in the latest map made by you of the Colony we have found indeed, that river, but have not yet succeeded in finding the Post itself. Furthermore, what grounds you might be able to give us further to support our right to the possession of the aforesaid Post—perhaps a declaration by the oldest inhabi-

It being fifteen months since I was in Demerara, having been continually prevented by all kinds of occurrences, I proceeded thither on the last day of August intending to stay there about four weeks and to go right up the river.

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P.R.O. 470/127

[Oct. 1, 1758[1].]

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

The fact of Captain G. E. Boef having changed his mind and put into Rio Demerara for another fortnight, in order to avoid all cause for complaint, affords me the opportunity of writing YY. HH. the present letter, my last being already on the way to Essequibo, and of informing YY. HH. that the men I sent to the Upper Cuyuni to inquire into the reports of the Indians have returned. The said reports turn out to be only too true, the Post-house being burnt down to the ground, the Postholder and his assistant, together with the creole Ariaen, and his wife and children, carried off to Guayana[2] as prisoners, and all that the Post contained taken away.

There being not the slightest difficulty or doubt concerning the ownership of this portion of Essequibo, most undoubtedly belonging, as it does, to the West India Company, this unexpected and unheard-of act is a violation of all existing Treaties—a violation even of the universal law of nations, and as a matter of the greatest

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tants of the Colony could in this connection be handed in, which might be of service. We should also like to have a more specific description of the Map of America by M. d'Anville, to which you appeal; for that gentleman has issued many maps dealing with that continent, and in none of those which have come to our notice have we been able to discover any traces [of what you mention]."

[1] The document bears no date, but the letter referred to in the third paragraph is dated *Sept. 30* (see pp. 363–365).

[2] See Note 1 on p. 314.

importance it demands Your Honours' attention and vigilance.

Yesterday I sent Mr Spoors a letter addressed by me to the Commandant of Guayana, to be communicated to the Court, and then to be sent per express to Orinoco. In this I spoke of the raid in the most serious terms, and demanded full satisfaction and compensation. As there will be no meeting of the Court until after the departure of the "Pieter en David," I cannot have the honour of sending YY. HH. a copy of the above-mentioned letter, not knowing whether the Court might not consider some alterations or additions necessary. I shall not fail to send YY. HH. a copy of the letter at the earliest opportunity, together with whatever answer I may receive[1]. I have explained to them amongst other things how easy it would be for me to exercise the right of reprisal, but have added that I have not the slightest intention of doing so unless I receive express orders to that effect, or my hand is forced by extreme measures on the other side, being convinced that Their High Mightinesses would be able to obtain full satisfaction from His Catholic Majesty.

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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P.R.O. 470/129

January 24, 1759.

(Extracts)

The Governor of Berbice having informed me that a clipper there is to depart for Europe in the beginning of next month, I profit by the opportunity to inform YY. HH. that my emissary to Orinoco has returned from thence with a very unsatisfactory reply from the Governor of

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[1] The letter and answer are given on pp. 363–366.

Cumaná[1] to my letter to the Commandant of Orinoco[2], wherein he maintains, *inter alia*, that the River Cuyuni is Spanish territory, and refuses to give back the imprisoned Postholder, settler and creoles.

I have the honour to send YY. HH. herewith copy of my letter and of the reply.

Since the address of the Governor of Cumaná's letter is, "To the Dutch Commandant residing in Essequibo," which sounds very haughty and contemptuous, I have caused the same to be replied to by the Commanding Officer here, of which reply[3] a copy also goes herewith.

This treatment, against all justice, and contrary to the law of nations, and these so far-reaching pretensions, being of the most extreme importance for this Colony, I do hope, and doubt not, that YY. HH. will employ all due means, through Their High Mightinesses, to obtain proper satisfaction therefor.

. . . . .

When I had written as far as this, an express arrived from Berbice with some European letters; from these I learn that no ships had yet departed from Zeeland hitherwards and that none was to set out before December (and even that was uncertain), this being occasioned by the frequent piracies practised by the English; truly unfortunate for this Colony, so much sugar in readiness and an absolute dearth of everything. I have now been over twenty years in this Colony and have never seen such universal want, in addition to which the high prices of sugar have encouraged everyone to plant it and no more bread than is absolutely necessary, so that the sugar plantations in the low lands have no bread. If we were not supplied to some little extent by the same nation that

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[1] Nicolas de Castro (see p. 365). [2] Juan Valdes (see p. 367).
[3] This was returned unopened (see p. 367).

does us so much harm on the other side it would be a bad outlook.

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On closing this letter I take the liberty earnestly to recommend to Your Honours' attention[1] the case in

[1] The reply of the Zeeland Chamber, dated *December 3, 1759*, (following on a shorter one of *May 31*) ran :—

"...As soon as we had received your letter of the 24th January of this year, viâ Berbice, we immediately presented to the States-General a lengthy Remonstrance concerning the raid upon the Company's Post in Rio Cuyuni by the Spaniards. And, although the aforesaid Memorial was sent by the States-General to the Ambassador at the Court of Spain, with orders to make the necessary representations concerning the matter to His Catholic Majesty, and to insist upon due satisfaction, still we fear that hardly anything decisive can be expected from it for some time, in view of the change which has taken place in the aforesaid kingdom*. Wherefore we still request you to lay before us everything which might in any way be of service in proof of our right of ownership to, or possession of, the aforesaid river, because after receiving it we might perhaps present to the States-General a fuller Remonstrance on this head, with a statement of facts joined thereto. For this purpose there might especially be of use to us a small map of the River of Cuyuni, with indication of the places where the Company's Post, and also the grounds of 'Old Duinenburg' and of the Company's coffee and indigo plantations were situated, and, finally, of the so-called Blue Mountain in which the miners carried on their work for our account. We ask for this especially because in your Map of Essequibo, exact though it otherwise be, we can find nothing of all this. You see then from this that we are not less convinced than you of the value and importance of the aforesaid river, and that we are consequently doing everything that can be done for keeping possession thereof.

. . . . . .

"Coming now to your aforesaid letter of the 24th January of this year, received by us viâ Berbice, we praise the correspondence which you have carried on with the Spanish Government on the subject of the raiding of Cuyuni. It is not a bad thing to let it be seen in such a correspondence what one might actually be able to do ; but formal reprisal, however justifiable, must never be resorted to without express orders from the sovereign authority. We approve your prudence in stopping the rumour of a breach of the peace between the States-General and the Crown of Great Britain. You may safely rely that,

* The death of the King, Ferdinand VI, and the accession of his brother, Charles III.

Cuyuni as being of the greatest importance to this Colony, that river forming one of the three arms of this river, and being that in which Your Honours' indigo and coffee plantations, and a great portion of "Duynenburg," are situated.

If the Spaniards hold possession thereof we have them in the heart of the Colony, and no one is for one hour certain of his possessions, the mouth of the said river being only a cannon shot from the old Fort Kijkoveral.

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[Inclosure I.]

*Director-General, Essequibo, to the Commandant of Guayana*[1].

September 30, 1758.

Sir,

It was with very great surprise that I learned a few days ago from the Indians that our Post in the River of Cuyuni had been attacked by the Spaniards, the master of the said Post, his second, a creole slave of the Company, and a creole woman with her children taken as prisoners, and the house burned, &c.

This news, to which I could give no credence, appeared to me to be fabulous, and the thing an impossibility, and therefore I was still unwilling to take the least step, but I first sent persons to make ocular inspection. These people on their return confirmed not only the truth of the fact, but by another report I learn that the above-mentioned persons are actually prisoners in Guayana.

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as soon as we foresaw anything of that kind (which God forfend) we should be prompt, not only in warning you of it as soon as possible, but also in providing you with the promised reinforcement at the expense of the Colony."

[1] Don Juan Valdes (see p. 367). The original is in French.

What am I to think, Sir, of an outrage so directly opposed to the law of nations and to the Treaties of Peace and of Alliance so happily and so long existing between His Catholic Majesty and Their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces?

How is it possible to have the audacity to act in a manner so violent, without reason, without any previous complaint? I am perfectly sure that His Catholic Majesty, far from approving such an outrage, will not fail to render full justice to my Sovereigns, and exemplary punishment to those who dare thus abuse their authority.

That great King has given such signal proofs of his amity for our Republic that I would have contented myself with making a report to my Sovereigns of the affair, leaving it to their discretion to procure for themselves the satisfaction required. But the position which I have the honour to occupy obliges me to take the first step, and in their name to apply to you, Sir, and demand of you not only the release of the prisoners, but also proper satisfaction for so manifest a violation of Treaties and of the rights of nations. As long as I have had the honour of being at the head of this Colony, I have ever tried to cultivate the friendship of the Spanish nation, our nearest neighbours. I have always used all my power to prevent the savage Caribs doing them the least wrong, and if the persons who have been employed in the irresponsible act in question have taken the trouble to seize the papers which were at the Post, you will see that one of the principal Articles of his (the Postholder's) instructions contained an express order not to give the slightest subject of complaint to the neighbouring Spaniards.

It would be by no means difficult for me to make reprisals, having quite sufficient means ready at hand, but I find no reason to use them, considering it as contrary to the duty of an honourable man, contrary to that of a

Christian—means which it is not permissible to use except in the last extremity, and when all other expedients have been tried fruitlessly.

By a vessel which is leaving this week for Europe I have reported this incident to my masters. I have not the least doubt that they will be as much surprised as myself at this outrage, and will lose no time in causing complaint thereof to be made at the Court of His Catholic Majesty.

Therefore, Sir, in the name of Their High Mightinesses, my Sovereigns, and of the Directors of the Company, my masters, I demand of you the liberation and immediate return of the prisoners and a proportionate satisfaction for the loss and damage suffered, protesting very expressly, in case of refusal, against all the consequences which such an affair must naturally entail, in order that there may never be any subject of reproach against myself, who have always been inclined to cultivate friendship and reciprocal dealings with our neighbours, and I shall persist in these sentiments as long as I am not compelled to do the contrary.

Awaiting with impatience your reply hereto, I have the honour to be, with all the esteem and consideration possible, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant,

L. S. VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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[Inclosure II.]

*Don Nicolas de Castro to the Director-General of Essequibo.*

Cumaná, November 10, 1758.

Sir,

The Commandant of Guayana has sent me, with other papers, a letter which you have written to him, demanding the delivery of the two Dutch prisoners, a negro, and a creole, with their children, and of all that was found by the guard in

command there on an island in the River Cuyuni, which is, with its dependencies, a part of the domains of the King, my master, and on which these prisoners publicly kept up an illicit trade in Indian slaves, although it is incredible that Their High Mightinesses should have authorized you to enter the said domains, and still less to purchase Indians from their villages and territories, in order to make slaves of them. This being so, and our action being a justifiable one, I cannot consent to the restitution of the prisoners whom you demand until I know the will of my master, to whom I have made a report of all that has passed, with papers in justification of my action.

I remain at your service, and may God preserve you many years.

Don Nicolas de Castro.

To the Dutch Commandant Resident at Essequibo, from the Governor of Cumaná.

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P.R.O. 470/139

July 20, 1759.

(Extract)

Messrs Clarke are now engaged in a new enterprise, consisting of the construction on the river itself of a water-mill that is to work both with ebb and flow. I highly approve of such people carrying out new ideas, for, if they succeed it may bring great profit to the Colony and if they fail it cannot hurt them, for they would not feel the loss. Two days ago I for the first time saw the man under whose direction the work is being done and spoke at some length with him about it. He adduces such good and sufficient reasons that I have but little or no doubt of success ; this would be of great advantage to Demerara, for, as far as this river is concerned, we shall not be able to profit by it, the banks being everywhere too shallow and the stream not half so strong as in Demerara.

This vessel takes the first shipment of coffee from Demerara, consisting of 30½ casks, twenty-two being from the plantation "De Princesse Carolina[1]" and eight and a half from "Soestdijk[2]", the first tree having been planted on the former three and a half, on the latter two and a half years ago. The trees on both are at present so extraordinarily well laden with berries that the crop in October and November next is expected, with the Lord's blessing, to yield quite double as much; some other plantations will begin to bear about that time, so that next year we shall be able to ship a good quantity. The growth of the trees is incredible and in addition to this the berries are small and blue, being, according to what the Surinam planters say, much better of their kind than in Surinam.

The sugar plantations there are also making good progress, a drawback being the dearth of slaves.

The despatches received from Orinoco having been translated by Mr Persik, I found one to be from the Commandant Don Juan Valdes, in which he informs me that, being forbidden to enter into any correspondence concerning the matter of Cuyuni, he is obliged to send back my letter[3] unopened; he adds that he has brought the matter to the notice of the King of Spain, and that he has no doubt that I, too, have informed Their High Mightinesses of the same, and that, therefore, the case would have to be decided not by ourselves but by our

[1] Belonging to Baron Sirtema van Grovestins (cf. p. 281).

[2] So named after the palace, near Amersfoort, in Holland, already then and still to-day belonging to the reigning house. The plantation was evidently regarded by Storm as the common property of himself and children, for in *1765* he writes (see p. 482) that half "Soestdijk" belonged to his daughter, van Bercheyck's widow, and half to his other children, whilst in *1771*, when both his daughters and one son were still alive, he says (see p. 58) "I possess naught else than half the plantation 'Soestdijk.'"

[3] This was the one written at Storm's instance in *January* by the Commanding Officer (see pp. 361 and 393).

respective Sovereigns. This matter is of very great importance to the Colony, because if the Spaniards remain in possession of Cuyuni, which is one of the arms of this river, and in which there are coffee and indigo plantations belonging to YY. HH., as well as the estates of "Old Duynenburg[1]" (now allotted to private holders), there will be no safety at all in this Colony. A way for all evil-doers, deserters, and bankrupts will be quite open and free, and the Colony will be ruined immediately there is the least misunderstanding with Spain. YY. HH. will therefore see that this matter is fully deserving of Your Honours' attention. The Spaniards continue to stay where they are, and to entrap and drive away all the Caribs living there. The latter, on their part, are not taking matters quietly, but are beginning to make a vigorous resistance, and to do much mischief in Orinoco itself. Two well-armed boats have been kept cruising up and down the river, and the Spanish commerce has suffered a good deal.

The second despatch is written by order of the Government, and signed by the Commandant and the Contador. I am informed in this that the measure providing for the apprehension and restitution to the owners (on payment of costs) of all fugitive negroes from this Colony and Berbice has been approved.

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P.R.O. 470/151

September 1, 1759.

(Extract)

I was exceedingly pleased to hear that YY. HH. had for the present declined to grant Secretary Spoors' request. My own request and recommendation had no other aim than that of begging Your Honours to accede to Mr Spoors'

[1] Cf. p. 374.

demand should he persist therein. I hope he will avail himself of Your Honours' favour and remain in office for some time yet.

For me, who am already advanced in years and tormented by various ailments, it is a great difference, YY. HH., whether I have by my side a man versed in all the Company's and Colony's affairs and of a congenial disposition or a new one who would have to be instructed in nearly everything, whereby the whole burden would fall upon my shoulders[1].

The soldiers who came by "Het Loo" arrived in good health and look very well; these reinforcements were very badly needed, for the garrison was reduced to almost nothing and could not possibly execute the duties any longer, wherefore I had already long since done without the sentry that used to stand at my door.

The time is too short to enable me to send what YY. HH. require concerning Cuyuni[2], and in this despatch I shall have to content myself with informing YY. HH. that Cuyuni being one of the three arms which constitute this river, and YY. HH. having had for very many years the coffee and indigo plantation there, also that the mining master, with his men, having worked on the Blue Mountain in that river without the least opposition, the possession of that river, as far, too, as this side of the Wayne, which is pretended to be the boundary-line (although I think the latter ought to be extended as far as Barima), cannot be questioned in the least possible way, and Your Honours' right of ownership is indisputable, and beyond all doubt[3].

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[1] On the relations existing between the Director-General and the Secretary, see p. 163.

[2] See Note 2, p. 358.

[3] The Directors' reply, dated *Dec. 3, 1759*, ran :—

"We see from your letter that you extend the boundary of the Colony in the direction of the Orinoco not only as far as Waini, but even as far as Barima. We should like to be informed of the grounds

The Post, which was attacked and ruined in a manner so contrary to the law of nations was situated about fifteen hours above the place where Cuyuni unites with Massaruni, but this has little to do with the matter; even if the Post had been situated fifty hours further up, it was a matter which did not concern the Spaniards, and in the same way as they are masters upon their territory to do what pleases them, so YY. HH. are also masters upon yours.

And I have once more the honour to assure YY. HH. that the whole security and peace of this Colony depends upon the possession of that river, and that without it no one can be in the least way certain of his property; it is therefore more than doubly worthy the attention of Their High Mightinesses and YY. HH. I await with impatience Your Honours' orders, to which I shall conform strictly, and to the letter, and however aged and weak I may be, I shall be quite capable of finding means, if I am honoured with Your Honours' orders, and provided too with some reinforcements, both of militia and of powder and arms, of obtaining proper satisfaction, and of securing that place, even if it should cost me my life, which I am ready and willing, with all my heart, to sacrifice for the commonweal.

The Map of South America by M. d'Anville[1], to which I referred, was sent to me last year, at my request, by Professor Allamand[2], now Rector Magnificus at Leyden,

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upon which you base this contention, and especially your inference that Cuyuni being situate on this side of Waini must therefore necessarily belong to the Colony; for, so far as we know, there exist no Conventions that the boundary-lines in South America run in a straight line from the sea-coast inland, as do most of the frontier-lines of the English Colonies in North America."

[1] Cf. pp. 63, 357 and 359.

[2] Jean Nicolas Sebastien Allamand was born at Lausanne *September 18, 1713*. Migrating to Leiden he entered the University there *September 2, 1740*, and was inscribed on the roll as *V.*[*erbi*] *D.*[*ivini*] *M.*[*inister*], *J.*[a student of law]. But neither theology nor law held him long. By the amiability of his disposition he gained the friend-

by the "Essequibo Welvaeren," and was at that time the last by that man. The boundaries of the different nations upon this coast of Guiana are there distinctly marked. I had received two of them, but have, for the second time, sent one to Orinoco by Burgher Captain Niels Andries Schutz[1], who has gone thither in commission for regulating the restitution of the fugitive slaves, as I had the honour of informing YY. HH. in my former despatch, the other gentlemen proposed having, some for one reason, and some for another, declined to perform the journey.

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ship of Willem Jacob 's Gravesande (the uncle of the Commander of Essequibo), who entrusted him with the education of his two sons, encouraged him to devote his attention to physics and succeeded in getting him appointed to the chair of philosophy at Franeker in *1747*, in which year, too, he was elected a member of the Royal Society of London. In *1749* he became Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Leiden and evinced much zeal in enlarging the Museum of Natural History attached to the University, also bequeathing to it at his death in *1787* the private collection he had formed; he was Rector Magnificus for the year *1759* and in addition to the chair of philosophy and mathematics held that of experimental physics from *1761* to *1774*. Amongst literary labours very varied in character he edited Prosper Marchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*, made notable additions to a Dutch edition of Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* and edited the complete works of his old friend and patron, Willem Jacob 's Gravesande (see p. 31, Note 1). Storm must have made Allamand's acquaintance in *1751*—evidently through the above-mentioned map (see also p. 397), and subsequently mentions more than once corresponding with and sending him interesting specimens of various kinds (see pp. 502, 506 and 534); through Allamand's mediation, too, Storm was probably instrumental in furnishing Hartsinck with much material for his *Beschrijving van Guiana* (see p. 460).

*Album Studiosorum Acad. Lugd. Batavae.*—Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek.*—Hoefer, *Nouvelle Biog. Générale.*—*Lists of Fellows of the Royal Society.*

[1] The Spaniards dubbed the captain "a real barbarian" (see p. 509).

P.R.O. 470/172

Rio Essequibo, March 15, 1760.

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

It having pleased Almighty God, in accordance with His immutable decree, to take from this world to His Eternal Kingdom my dear and tenderly beloved wife, Lumea Constantia van Bercheyck, after a long illness, at the age of full fifty-two years, I have deemed it to be my duty to inform YY. HH. of this bereavement, so severe and painful to me. Great and heartrending, YY. HH., is this loss for me after a happy and peaceful union of over thirty-three years and that, too, in this country, where the duties of hospitality and the post I have the honour to fill made her faithful help so necessary, but the Lord's will must be done and it is our duty to submit to it with resignation.

May the Almighty and Omnipotent God preserve Your Honours' persons and beloved families from similar and other griefs and pains, grant that YY. HH. may live in perfect happiness to a peaceful and blessed old age under His safe wings and protection and shower upon YY. HH. and all Your Honours' dear ones His highest temporal and spiritual blessings. These are the honest wishes of him who is with deep respect,

Noble and Right Honourable Sirs,

Your Honours' most humble, most obedient and deeply sorrowing servant,

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

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